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Anti-Americanism among South Korean University Students

Meri Tuuli Elina Timonen

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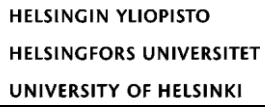
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Tiivistelmä – Referat – Abstract <p>This thesis researches anti-Americanism among South-Korean university students. South-Korea is known to be very pro-American country, but anti-American sentiment has existed in the society especially in the beginning of 21st century. The goal of this thesis is to know, if anti-Americanism still exists in South-Korea. The university students are target group, since university students have been major force behind anti-Americanism since the 1980's in South-Korea. The research question asks, how South Korean university students perceive the U.S. The hypothesis assumes, that they perceive the U.S. positively.</p> <p>Research literature focuses on books and articles about anti-American sentiment in South-Korea. The theoretical framework constitutes the concept of ethnic nationalism, that is widely researched among western and South-Korean scholars. Ethnic nationalism means nationalism based on the idea of ethnic unity. In Korea, it is traditionally connected with primordialism and uniqueness of Korean race. Also, theories of intercultural conflicts are applied. Not too much emphasis is paid to political aspects. This thesis focuses on nationalistic theories, and some identity theories are taken into consideration. Area- and cultural studies, sociology, history and are main study fields of this thesis. Gender studies are given some emphasis.</p> <p>The data is gathered with semi-structured survey research, conducted in November 2018 in Seoul, South Korea. The data consists 50 answers from Yonsei university students. The data is analysed both statistically and thematically. Mann-Whitney U test and Kruskal-Wallis test are used in statistical analysis. SPSS serves as the main tool of the analysis. The analysis focuses on four different variables; gender, ideology, foreign experience and English skill. Thematic analysis is qualitative, whereas statistical quantitative.</p> <p>The results indicate, that male students have more positive view of the U.S. than female students. Furthermore, students with leftist-ideology hold more negative view than right-wing or centrist. Foreign experience and English skill had little influence on the views. Thematic analysis shows, that South-Korean students have very pragmatic attitude towards the U.S. Overall, the results argue, that South-Korean anti-Americanism is very complex phenomenon, and is constantly changing. Anti-Americanism exists in South Korea but is not so evident. People tend to have neutral attitudes towards the U.S. and this neutrality can vary from pro-Americanism to anti-Americanism. Causes behind anti-Americanism are so diverse, that it is hard to predict when anti-American sentiment gains popularity in the future.</p>			
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1 INTRODUCTION

The World has become immensely transnational during the last fifty years. After the collapse of Soviet Union, liberal capitalism has become the main ideology all around the globe, and South Korea is not exception. South Korean have become familiar with liberal values, and the country has faced many changes since its independence in 1948. The United States has acted as the most important ally for South Korea since its birth and the friendship between these two countries seems everlasting for majority of people around the World. No wonder, that many people are surprised when they hear about anti-American sentiment in South Korea.

Historically, Korea and the U.S. have relative short history together. They established diplomatic relations in 1882. At the height of imperialism, the U.S. viewed Korea as backward country that would not survive independent against imperial powers and hoped that Japan will guide Korea into modernization. The U.S. was still less powerful than many other countries and was not interested in Korea. Because of Korea's strategic position between Japan, Russia and China, the intervention on Korea's affairs was fierce. China gave up with Korea after Sino-Japanese war in 1894-95 and Russia after Russo-Japanese war in 1904-05. In 1910 Japan officially colonialized Korean peninsula which lasted till 1945. The colonialization period was very traumatic for Koreans because of Japan's brutal suppression of Korean culture and people. (Straub 2015; also Shin 2006.)

During colonial period, Korea developed fierce nationalist movement, that aimed for independence and liberalization of Korean race. Many Koreans also viewed Americans in good terms, because American missionaries helped Koreans during these hard times and thus the U.S. seemed like a liberator for many Koreans. This eventually became true, when the US defeated Japan and released Koreans from the suppression of Japan. Unfortunately, new challenges were ahead of Koreans. Because of Cold War tensions between the U.S. and Soviet, Korean peninsula became divided. After Korean War, 1950-1953, Korean peninsula was permanently divided into capitalist South and communist North. Some South Koreans felt, that U.S. had protected them against communist Soviet Union, and remained in the country to protect them. But, leftist argued that the U.S. only pursued for its own

interest. Nevertheless, South Korea became a prime example of successful U.S. policies. (Straub 2015.)

South Korea was ruled by military dictatorship 1961-1979 under Park Chung-Hae. During this period, protests were heavily regulated and human rights violated. In 1979, Park Chung-Hae was assassinated and shortly after Chun Doo-hwan became the president. During the first months of the 1980's, students started to express their dissatisfaction towards the government policies. The events escalated in Kwangju, where massive protests were held, and suspended violently. People blamed the US for not doing anything, and anti-American sentiment saw its daylight soon afterwards. During 1980's students protested against U.S. policies, but things calmed down after Korea's democratization in 1987. (Straub 2015, also Lee 2007.)

However, in 1998 when formed leftist student activist, Kim Dae-jung was elected as president, anti-American sentiment emerged again. This time, South Korean blamed U.S. for East-Asian economic crisis. During the next few years, revelations of U.S. crimes sensationalized by progressive media triggered anti-Americanism on its climax. Naturally, anti-Americanism enjoyed worldwide popularity in 2001-2003, and South Korea was no exception. This was caused by American invasion to Iraq after 9/11 to large extent, but people also protested against Americanization of culture and economy, that had become more evident during globalization. However, protests subsided in the end of 2003 in South Korea. In 2008, the sentiment ascended again, this time because of U.S. beef. Once again, the protest did not last long. After 2008, there has not been nation-wide protests against the U.S. policies, but this does not mean, that there is no anti-Americanism in South Korea. Many scholars, who have researched anti-Americanism as a phenomenon argue, that South Korean anti-Americanism is not simply caused by short-time incidents but is connected to more complex issues. (Straub 2015, also Cho 2015.)

This thesis discusses about anti-American sentiment in contemporary South Korea from the perspective of area- and cultural studies, combining it with sociological and historical studies. Theoretical framework includes nationalistic- and intercultural theories by various of scholars, most importantly studies of ethnic nationalism in Korea by Shin Gi-Wook. Ethnic nationalism in Korea is based on cultural nationalism of Colonial Korea (1910-45) and was shaped by colonial racism of

Japanese people towards Korean culture and race. Koreans demonstrated against Japanese occupation in so called “March 19 movement” in 1919, which evoked nationalist sentiment among Koreans. During the 1920’s, nationalists started to create new Korean identity, which combined modern western ideas as well as traditional folk characteristics. However, in 1930’s the new national culture transformed more into ethnic nationalism, that defined nation in ethnic and racial terms and glorified Korean historical periods, that had not been influenced by foreign powers. This ethnic nationalism was not as cosmopolitan as earlier nationalisms but viewed the U.S. positively. Also, it wasn’t highly political either. (Shin 2006, 43-49.)

On contrast, the minjung (민중¹) movement (people’s movement) in 1970’s and 1980’s, that was anti-American and heavily political, based its ideas partly on the nationalist movement of the Colonial Korea. This minjung nationalism aimed for democratization of South Korean people as well as for unification of Korean people. (Lee 2007, 49.) Thus, anti-Americanism is coined with ethnic nationalism though minjung movement, which still exist in the South Korean society to some extent. Moreover, politics of national identity have not disappeared despite democratization, which emphasize the strength of ethnic nationalism.

Since there has not been clear anti-American sentiments for the last ten years, I became interested, whether or not anti-Americanism exists in South Korean society any longer. Many scholars have conducted surveys for South Korean people and the results indicate, that anti-American as a phenomenon is multidimensional among South Koreans. The survey by Kim and Yoo (2017) indicate that majority of South Korean college students have positive view of the U.S., but almost one of a third have neutral perception. Those who hold neutral attitude are prone of adopting negative attitudes. (Kim & Yoo 2017, 49.) University students have also a long history of protesting against U.S. in South Korea (See Straub 2015). Therefore, I started to wonder, how university students in South Korea perceive the U.S. and eventually, this evolved into the research question of this thesis as well. The research question asks, how South Korean university students perceive the U.S. Additional questions that can be asked are for example: Is there anti-Americanism among

¹ Minjung can be translated as “common people” (Lee 2007, 5).

university students? If there is, why it exists? And what anti-American sentiment really implies?

Anti-Americanism as a phenomenon is not widely researched in the academia during the last ten years. Many scholars were interested of anti-Americanism in the beginning of 2000's, but on 2010's, not so many. In Finland, the subject is widely neglected. Since anti-Americanism is very volatile phenomenon and can emerge rapidly, it is important to understand the reasons that may cause it. The subject is important for me, since I am interested in South Korean rapidly changing society and its adaption to global world. Also, South Korean identity and nationalism, that are closely connected to the anti-American sentiment, are close interest of mine. I think that ethnic nationalism that lives deeply in the South Korean society is one issue, that must be taken seriously. Since nationalism has been on rise all around the World in 21st century, it should not be neglected in the academia. South Korea, which is divided country and locates geopolitically on very strategic place between China and the U.S., can cause major turmoil in the East-Asian region, if it starts to act highly nationalistically. Thus, I think South Korea should seek for peace, not conflict. Anti-Americanism itself can lead to serious conflicts in a worst scenario, which are not good for the people in the region.

The goal of this thesis is to find out, if anti-Americanism exists among South Korean university students. The main hypothesis assumes, that South Korean university students hold positive view of the U.S. The hypothesis is based on the knowledge that I had before reading any research literature. Overall, people seem to assume that South Koreans are highly pro-American. I knew beforehand, that anti-Americanism has had its moments in Japan and South Korea, so the subject itself was not completely new to me. To answer to the research question, survey is conducted among university students at Yonsei university, Seoul, South Korea. This semi-structured survey includes both fixed and open-ended questions. The analysis method is statistical analysis with Mann-Whitney U test and Kruskal-Wallis test by SPSS. Ass for open ended-questions, thematic analysis is applied. The overall analysis uses both quantitative and qualitative methods to achieve statistical data of the students' perceptions while understanding deeper thoughts of the students. I hope to achieve statistically significant data, that offers more information of this complex

phenomenon. The university students who answered to the survey are referred as “respondents”.

Research literature focuses on anti-Americanism in South Korea, and most of the articles and books were acquired from Yonsei- and Helsinki university libraries with. Headwords that were mainly used are “anti-Americanism in South Korea”, “ethnic nationalism”, “Korea-U.S. relations”, and “South Korean identity”. Majority of the research literature are articles and books, but some newspaper articles are also used. Most of the scholars are South Korean or American, not a single Finnish article was found. All research material is in English. What was conscientiously left out from this thesis are the articles that focus on Korean identity or the U.S.-Republic of Korea (from now on ROK) alliance, since although these issues are closely connected to anti-Americanism, it would have taken too much space to focus on these aspects too. Furthermore, not much emphasis has paid to North Korea either. Although North Korea is a major cause of anti-Americanism, in this thesis it is only one of the many causes. As for referencing, Chicago-B style is used. Korean to English translations are Romanized and original hangul written next to the words in parenthesis. The results of statistical analysis are explained as well as shown in figures.

Order of the components is as following. In the chapter two, concept of anti-Americanism is introduced, and brief history of South Korean anti-Americanism explained. Theoretical framework of the thesis is defined carefully while describing the major sources of anti-American sentiment in South Korea. Some political context is taken into consideration, but not too much emphasis is paid to it. In the chapter three, methods are introduced, and survey research process explained. How survey form was planned, how survey was conducted on the field and the descriptive statistics introduced. Also, attention is paid to difficulties experienced while distributing the survey for respondents. In the chapter four, the analysis is presented. First, statistical analysis is conducted for four different variables of the survey; gender, ideology and foreign experience and English skill. Then, thematic analysis is applied for open-ended questions. In chapter five, results and thoughts of the analysis are displayed, and critique expressed. Finally, in the chapter six, conclusions are made.

2 ANTI-AMERICANISM IN SOUTH KOREA

2.1 DEFINING ANTI-AMERICANISM

South Korea has a long alliance with the United States, but during the last millennium Anti-American sentiments have been on rise. This anti-American wave has been worldwide trend in the global era and anti-American sentiments have been visible all around the globe. Many research centers, such as PEW² have conducted surveys about anti-Americanism every year and the result show that anti-Americanism certainly is a global phenomenon. Scholars who have been researching this global phenomenon have been arguing about the definition of anti-Americanism considerably. The definitions of anti-Americanism are introduced next.

Anti-Americanism as a term emerged after 9/11 regardless that Anti-American sentiments had existed earlier in many parts of the World. Nonetheless, American-led wars in Afghanistan and Iraq cultivated new level of Anti-Americanism both in media and academic field. Today, Anti-Americanism is widely used among the academia and international politics, although the term remains hard to define. According to David Straub, anti-Americanism is a vague concept that can be used to refer any critical attitude towards Americans or the US. Scholars' differences in experience, identity and ideology makes it difficult to have any consensus among researchers regarding the concept of anti-Americanism. Regardless, anti-Americanism is a negative attitude directed at the U.S. as whole or certain aspects of the U.S. like policy or culture. However, he notifies that not many people in the U.S. or foreign countries would call themselves as anti-American even though they may oppose American foreign policy. (Straub 2015, 6.)

Robert Singh (2006) contends that there are different forms, causes and expressions of antipathy of anti-Americanism that derive from ambivalence about America. He makes difference between anti-Americanisms and anti-Americanism, which reflect distinct encounters with American nationalism. Singh notifies, that anti-Americanism does not represent coherent World view and therefore anti-Americanism needs to be defined more properly. He states that 9/11 provoked a new wave of anti-Americanism that expresses public antipathy towards United States. Before 9/11 this

² PEW research center is independent fact tank.

antipathy had been silenced in the minds of people, but global era of war on terror caused people to question the role of the United State in the World politics. There is not one kind of anti-Americanism in the World but they vary significantly and each one of anti-Americanisms need to be studied carefully. (Singh 2006, 25-26.) Meredith Woo-Cumings (2004) consents similarly. She thinks that concept of anti-Americanism is based on binary distinction of good and evil. After Soviet collapse and 9/11 the U.S. does not have identifiable enemy anymore. Instead, the enemy is anyone that loathes the U.S. – the anti-American. (Woo-Cumings 2004, 61.)

Probably the most visible form of anti-Americanism is the opposition of U.S. public and foreign policies such as war on Iraq or more recently policies of president Donald Trump. Singh argues that analyzing anti-Americanism is not that simply. He states that this first problem of analyzing anti-Americanism derives from opposition of American values, market economy, politics, people and culture. Anti-Americanism can oppose anything done by the U.S. so definition surely is not clear-cut. Another problem is whether or not anti-Americanism should be attached with end in *-ism*. Many people may have anti-American attitudes but at the same time they are wearing Levi's jeans and consuming Hollywood movies. Thirdly, the image of America is not uniform and clear for most of the people. Reality is at conflict with the image portrayed in the media and people have different views of the U.S.. These aspects indicate that anti-Americanism is remarkably elastic and deserves critical commentary as well since it varies so greatly. (Singh 2006, 26-29.)

Sociologist Paul Hollander (1992) defines anti-Americanism as predisposition to hostility toward the United States and American society, a relentlessly critical impulse toward American social, economic and political institutions, traditions and values; it entails an aversion to American culture in particular and its influence abroad, --, and dislike of American people, manners, behavior, dress and so on; rejection of American foreign policy and a firm belief in the American malignity of American influence and presence anywhere in the world. – He also states that anti-Americanism includes often anti-capitalism. (Hollander 1992, 339.) Paul Hollander is one of the most well-known scholars in the field of anti-Americanism and his definitions have been widely references in the discussion of the concept of anti-Americanism. Alike to Singh, Hollander has pointed out that Anti-Americanism is

not classified so easily but varies greatly in many levels. Nicole H. Risse (2001) argues in her master's thesis about Anti-Americanism in South Korea, that all these definitions express a perception against America's political, cultural, economic and military influences. (Risse 2001, 19-20.) Military issues have been crucial in South Korea during the history but in contemporary South Korea issues are more complicated than in the late 20th century because of the globalization and turbulent change in South Korean society.

Term anti-Americanism is not easy to define and deserves to be carefully used. Especially in the case of South Korea, where the reasons for anti-Americanism are complicated and diverse. Terms anti-Baseism or anti-Bushism do not fit on my research context as well as anti-Americanism. Anti-Bushism might have been the case in 2001-2002 anti-American sentiments, when Korean people were clearly against Bush administration and its policies, not the U.S. as a country. Korean language also has an equivalent for term anti-Americanism, word *banmi*³ (반미). Bruce Cumings (2004, 98) argues that *banmi* is used every time when Koreans are dissatisfied with Americans or the U.S. as such and thus term anti-Americanism should be used more delicately and use some other term, such as anti-Bushism.

Overall, it feels natural to use term anti-Americanism instead of any other term in this thesis, since current South Korean society is not clearly against the U.S. policies or does not have significant anti-American sentiment. There are as many definitions of anti-Americanism as there are scholars of this field. Anti-Americanism is a hypernym for different kind of anti-Americanisms. This thesis acknowledges the problematic nature of the term but also thinks that this term is most compelling when talking about negative sentiments towards the U.S. Thus, the term anti-Americanism⁴ is used in this thesis in lack of any better term for addressing negative attitudes towards the U.S. in South Korea, and since the variety of the scholars from this field also have decided to use it. Anti-Americanism in this thesis refers to the negative attitudes of foreign people toward the U.S., its policies, culture, society and people. The terms anti-American sentiment, feelings, attitudes, perceptions and views are used interchangeably.

³ Banmi is abbreviation of words bantae = opposition and miguk = America.

⁴ The term banmi is used in the survey of this thesis.

2.2 HISTORY OF ANTI-AMERICAN SENTIMENT IN SOUTH KOREA

Relations between South Korea and the United States have been entangled since the first encounters in the 19th century. In general, it is easily thought that South Korea is one of the most pro-American countries and has always been. However, this is not the only truth. During the over 200 years history between these two countries variations of emotions have existed and continue to prevail in the 21st century. This chapter introduces major historical events of Korean history that are essential to understand anti-Americanism in contemporary South Korea.

Japanese colonial period 1910-1945 is a national trauma for South Korean identity and hatred against Japan excessive. Chung-In Moon (2005) claims that anti-American attitudes were distinct during this period too among the elite and public. The U.S., back then still growing superpower, did not support South Korea's self-determination or independence. Instead the U.S. signed Taft-Katsura Agreement⁵ in 1905 which permanently accelerated annexation of Korea for Japan. Furthermore, Woodrow Wilson's doctrine of self-determination for undeveloped states after First World War launched the March 1st Movement in 1919, nowadays know as independence movement in South Korea. Despite the Woodrow Wilson's doctrine, the U.S. did not support the movement in Paris Peace Conference in the same year. (C-I. Moon 2005, 141.) Interestingly, Koo (2017) argues that anti-Americanism or anti-Sovietism were not issues until Cold war began. Since the U.S. and Soviet Union were responsible of the division of Korean peninsula, the state of post-colonialist division caused social separation on which unification activist responded with anti-Americanism and anti-Sovietism. In other words, the division of ethnic Korean race gave birth to anti-sentiments, which opposed the imperialist blocks, the U.S. and Soviet Union. Anti-Americanism is above all, opposition of its interventional policy. (Koo 2017, 292-295.)

However, since the destructive Second World War, Korea became suddenly pro-American. The threat of Colonial Japan was gone because of the liberator of the World, the U.S, has offered to help Korean people. The economically successful U.S. offered to help Korea with three-year trusteeship, which offered ground for South

⁵ The US officials signed the agreement simply because they accepted the fact that Korea was under Japan's influence and not independent (Straub 2015, 17).

Korean economy. Most importantly, American alliance helped South Korea in the Korean war and prevented South Korea to become communist country, like it's Northern part. It was widely believed that the U.S. provided the backbone for South Korean economic success with military help, economic guidance and industrial strategy. Despite the fact, that South Korea was ruled by authoritarian ruler till 1988, people remained happy with the U.S. South Korea was not only pro-American, but some people even worshipped the country. (C. Moon 2005, 142-143.)

Despite the pro-Americanism among the public and politicians, anti-American sentiment did not cease to exist. Especially progressive forces criticized the U.S. policies and Korean government along with human-rights violations and constant abolition of the leftist groups, who were considered as communists. It was not until 1970's till *banmi* began to surface again as consequence of Washington's policies and opposition to Yushin regime, established by president Park-Chung Hee who acted as a dictator. (C. Moon 2005, 143-144.) The U.S. had complicated relationship with Yushin regime because of political, economic and personal differences between presidents. However, most of the Korean people did not blame the U.S. for authoritarian regiment. (Straub 2015, 26.) Instead, most of the people remained quiet until the spring of 1980.

Younger Korean citizen were generally more active in the opposition of Korean government and the U.S. policies, but after the assassination of Park-Chung Hee and coup d'état by Chun Doo-Hwan opposition got another dimension. Kim Dae-Jung, political opponent of authoritarian regime, was imprisoned which caused turmoil among protestors. The young, educated and politically active students did not accept the imprisonment and protested against military in Kwangju. Military did not accept any protesting and acted brutally against citizens, which caused other citizens to protect the protestors. Conflict escalated, and citizens reached control of the Kwangju after military backed up. However, hundreds of innocent people died violently. South Korean people blamed the U.S. for not giving any support in the situation while knowing what was happening in Kwangju. Korean people also considered the U.S. being sort of responsible for Korean military's actions, since U.S. had highest power of military control. Overall, president Reagan was blamed for favoring Chun Doo-Hwan and not caring about human rights or democracy, only

economical interest. (Straub 2015, 27; Kim & Lee 2011, 236-238. See also Lee 2008.) These accusations and hatred led to new rise of anti-American sentiment in Korea, this time different compared to anything seen before.

During the whole 1980's Anti-American sentiment was highly visible and alive in South Korea. Reagan was extremely unpopular character and the U.S. embassy and people were often attacked. Straub (2015) has personal experience from this era and describes how South Koreans⁶ consistently said that Chun Doo-Hwa was not good for the country and the U.S. had power to change the situation. He notes that the U.S. could have done better and pressure Chun to change things, but South Koreans seemed not to understand that the U.S. did not have all the power, they just continued to blame the U.S. about everything. According to Straub, this anti-Americanism that emerged from Kwangju incident continues to narrate attitudes towards the U.S. even today. This so called "386 generation"⁷ has played central role in anti-American sentiment in South Korea. (Straub 2015, 35-37, also Emma Campbell 2016, 43.) Kwangju incident is important turning point to understand reasons behind anti-Americanism in South Korea for several reasons which will be discussed more in the next chapter.

After prosperous 1990's, Asian economy collapsed in 1997 which was a huge shock for evolving South Korean economy. South Korea blamed IMF for the crisis, calling it "IMF-crisis" instead of Asian financial crisis. During next year, first progressive president and leader of the leftists, Kim Dae-Jung, rose to power. Kim Dae-Jung himself was not anti-American but felt sympathy towards younger generations who had suffered under authoritarian rulers. However, he decided to concentrate on Sunshine policy⁸ (reconciliation policy) with North Korea instead of good relations with the U.S. This caused power to ascend to the hands of young politicians, who had negative view on the U.S. and no experience from foreign policies. The critique towards USFK (United States Forces in Korea) and SOFA⁹ agreement surfaced but

⁶ These protestors were mostly from progressive side of the parties (Straub 2015, 35).

⁷ "386 generation" refers to South Koreans who were born in the 1960's, attended university and protests in the 1980's and lived during 1990's during democratic and economic progress during Roh Moo-Hung administration (Campbell 2016, 51).

⁸ Sunshine policy refers to Kim Dae-Jung's policy of reconciliation with North Korea. This includes unilateral aid and assistance that leads to trust between South and North and eventually, North would go through economic and political reforms and reunify with South. (Straub 2015, 117.)

⁹ United States Status of Forces Agreement in Korea, revised in 2001 (Straub 2015, 106).

the President did not get involved considerably. Furthermore, the differences between Kim Dae-Jung and George W. Bush about North Korean issue polarized the relationship between U.S.-ROK for couple of years. Bush's infamous "axis of evil" speech¹⁰ caused outrage among Korean people and was interpreted disgraceful. (Straub 2015, 42-43, 125-126.) Anti-American sentiment grew to large measures during the first years of 2000's, partly because of Kim Dae-Jung's policy but also because of many incidents that happened in South Korea.

The attitudes towards the US had been negative for a while, but incidents made by the U.S. provoked anti-Americanism at its highest levels. The first incident where media was playing major role occurred in 1999, before mitigating the U.S.-ROK relations in the 2001-2002. The news article about Nogunri killings was published by American news agency Associated Press. According to the article, American soldiers had shot innocent Korean civilians during Korean war. There were witnesses and evidence of this hideous killings, so the U.S. officially apologized and paid 4 million dollars to build a memorial. However, this was just beginning. Many other incidents surged to the news media which caused major protests towards the America. The U.S. had been leaking dangerous chemicals to Han river and Korean short-cut skater was disqualified in 2002 winter Olympics, passing the gold medal for American skater. These incidents may not sound considerable but caused hatred against the U.S. grow among South Korean people. (Straub 2015, 49-57, 80, 153.)

The most extrusive was the highway 56 tragedy in the summer 2002 when two South Korean schoolgirls died when American military vehicle ran over the girls accidentally. The whole country was mourning after the loss of two innocent children but also vigorously protesting the U.S. South Korean had got enough of the U.S. military in their country and all the crimes it had made. Straub (2015) indicates that the incident was not so large-scale before left-wing activist and 386 generation journalists started to make noise about it. The U.S. had officially apologized the incident and given compensation money, but protestors and sensational media caused the incident to become national-level protest. (Straub 2015, 158-166.) It was not only about the two girls anymore, but about anti-Americanism. South Koreans wanted

¹⁰ Axis of evil speech was a result of 9/11, reflecting the US's harsher policies towards terrorism and weapons of mass destruction. North Korea was considered as terrorist nation among other "axis of evil" and the US "will not permit the world's most dangerous regimes to threaten us with the world's most destructive weapons (Straub 2015, 174-175.)

U.S. out of the country and many people, especially young generation, attacked the SOFA agreement demanding for revision and even president Bush's official apology, but neither of them happened, despite major candlelight vigils. (Straub 2015, 173; Kim, & Lee 2011, 241-242.)

Anti-American sentiment did not last very long. On 2003, there was not much of opposition towards the U.S. What happened to the nation-wide protests? As mentioned earlier, majority of the U.S. protestors were left-wing and progressive, mostly university students or 386 generation. Was it nationwide after all? According to surveys from 2002, South Korea was overall highly Anti-American, so Anti-Americanism was certainly nationwide. However, media was highly biased and controlled by sensational journalists who did not respect the ethics of journalism in sticking to the facts, not fiction. Furthermore, Kim Dae-Jung's administration was full of young and enthusiastic politicians who disliked the U.S.. (Straub 2015, 44-47, 173.) No wonder the policy during the 1998-2003 was negative towards the U.S.-ROK Alliance.

The attitudes changed surprisingly when conservative Roh Moo-Hyun became the next president. The anti-Americanism did not disappear, but public demonstrations and media criticism did fade. There were counter-demonstrations led by Christian churches and veteran groups, that supported the U.S.-ROK alliance. People believed that Roh Moo-Hyun, who had no experience of the U.S., would fix the problems regarding the alliance. (Straub 2015, 175-176, 207; Kim & Lee 2011, 242.) Nevertheless, the trust placed to Roh's U.S. policy was shortly proven wrong. He decided to send troops to Iraq to help U.S. soldiers in 2004 and pursued to sign the U.S.-ROK Free trade agreement (KORUS FTA) in 2006. Again, massive protests took part on the streets, led by social movement organizations. (Kim & Lee 2011, 234-244.) Despite the differences between the two president's policies, both resulted anti-Americanism on South Korean society, which reflects the diversity of South Korean Anti-Americanism.

After Roh Moo Hyun's administration in 2008, barely no anti-American sentiment has existed in South Korea. Obama administration brought harmony to the U.S.-ROK alliance in many ways. South Korean were able to visit the U.S. visa free and KORUS FTA free trade agreement was signed 2012, which integrated U.S. and

Korean economies closely. Beef demonstrations in 2008¹¹ were the only major protest wave in South Korea, but it has been argued that the demonstrations were not about anti-Americanism, but because of panic spread influenced largely by media. (Straub 2015, 209, 213.) In 2015, the U.S. ambassador Mark Lipper was attacked with a knife by a South Korean man wielding anti-war slogans and eventually, the attacker was identified as anti-U.S. activist (The Guardian 2015). During Donald Trump's administration, attitudes have remained the same in South Korea. Annual Pew Research indicates that South Korean do not view the current U.S. President very positively¹², but on the all other levels South Korea is more pro-American than ever. In the spring of 2018, 80 % of South Koreas viewed the U.S. favorably which is the second highest number in the World, Philippines being the first. (Bialik 2018.)

One might think that anti-Americanism has disappeared from South Korean society if it existed there in the first place. Straub argues that anti-Americanism was not one-off phenomenon, but anti-American sentiment can become popular also in the near future. South Koreans are better educated and more cosmopolitan than twenty years ago, but some issues might provoke anti-Americanism again. The relations with North Korea have changed significantly during the last years and unification seems possible in many ways. Different views between the U.S. and South Korea regarding North Korea is one reason why anti-Americanism may catch fire again. Furthermore, rising China also worries South Koreans and balancing between two superpowers is not easy. Finally, problematic relationship with Japan is worth of noting, since U.S.'s and South Korea's views vary greatly. (Straub 2015, 211-217.) External issues play important role in the rise of Anti-Americanism, but internal issues are as equal. In the next chapter, evaluate reasons for South Korean anti-Americanism as well as internal issues are examined more thoroughly. These reasons are crucial to know so that one may understand South Korean anti-Americanism wholeheartedly.

¹¹ Massive protests in 2008 opposing government decision reopen the market for US beef products although the meat could carry BSE or commonly known as "mad cow disease". The opposition of US beef because of health reasons had occurred during 2000's often, but in 2008 protest expanded to nationwide. (Lee, Jung-Eun 2012, 400, 403-404.)

¹² Confidence on President Donald Trump is 44% in 2018, compared to 17% in 2017 (Pew Research Center 2019).

2.3 CAUSES OF ANTI-AMERICANISM IN SOUTH KOREA

Scholars classify different sources for anti-American sentiment in South Korea that are similar compared to other anti-American sentiments but some also highly distinctive to South Korean sentiment. Most of the research has focused on the background of anti-Americanism which will be the focus of this thesis too. What are the reasons that cause anti-American sentiment to develop in South Korea? In this thesis I will not analyze other research fields as much such as U.S.-ROK alliance or history of the alliance. The focus of this thesis lays in the understanding of anti-Americanism in South Korea in the 21st century. Therefore, anti-American sentiment in the 20th century is adequately ignored.

Ambivalence towards the U.S. caused by many different issues and is widely multidimensional. Chung-In Moon (2005, 145-146) has divided anti-Americanism in to four dimensions; ideological, circumstantial, expression of democratic maturity and Bush administration policies. Shin (2010) contends similarly. According to Shin, South Korean anti-Americanism is connected to multiple factors. Generational divide, demographic change, nationalism, the U.S. policies, certain events, views of China and North Korea, historical complicity in the U.S.-ROK relations and the U.S. unilateralism all together have generated anti-American sentiment in the U.S. (Shin 2010, 4-6.) Moreover, Straub (2015) has similar issues to point out. He presumes potential causes for future anti-Americanism, mentioning nationalism, divided perception over North Korea, rise of China and U.S. – Korean differences over Japan. (Straub 2015, 214-216.) This framework can be divided into five different categories based on the research literature of the topic.

The first category lies in the change in South Korean society. South Korea changed a lot after Cold war and went through democratic transition and economic growth. Consequently, generational differences and gap between generations are widening. According to surveys, younger South Korean people view the U.S. more negatively than older generations¹³. Especially generation born in the mid-20th century feels obligation towards the U.S, but this is not the case with younger generations. They believe that South Korea is a strong economy and not dependent of any other country and should be treated equally with the U.S. This new generation is highly educated

¹³ Kim Uichol & Park Young-shin 2005, 262-263.

and global. They grew up with the Internet and never experienced authoritarianism like 386 generation. Many of the young generation consume American products and go to the U.S. to study. (C-I. Moon 2005, 147-149; K. Moon 2012, 45-46.)

According to survey from 2002 by Uichol Kim and Young-Shin Park, young generation that grew after Kwangju massacre and economic growth does not regard South Korea as “shrimp amid the battle of whales” but instead as a leader in many areas in the global World. They are self-determining and confident about themselves and their nation. (Kim & Park 2005, 263-265.) Chung-In Moon (2005, 148) thinks similarly and argues, that South Koreans are proud of their country and want corresponding international recognition from the U.S. and fair treatment. Young generation also opposes U.S. military presence more than older generations and are more active in civic activities such as peace activism and human rights (K. Moon 2012, 47, 58). This sense of pride of a home-country is connected to sense of nationalism but also reflect the universality of the new generation.

The 386 generation’s negative view of the U.S is explained by authoritarianism and the Cold war, but the current young generation’s views are not. South Korean society started its democratization process in 1987 and during 21st century people have had opportunity to express their political views more openly compared to their elders. Also, young generation have more opportunities to have contact with American people and culture than before. Internet, student exchanges and English language courses offer opportunity to gain personal knowledge of the U.S. and reduce misconceptions that might erupt anti-Americanism. (Kim & Park 2005, 264; also Shin 2006, 206.) Furthermore, young generation’s negative views are not unique only to South Korean youth, but overall younger people tend to have more critical view to U.S. and which may change over time due aging or maturation. However, higher education and social mobility seem to alter towards more negative view of the U.S. (K. Moon 2012, 46, 49.) It can be assumed that critical thinking among current young generation is the result of high education, globalism and democratic and economic change, but other conditions have influence as well.

The second category is caused by circumstances. Opinions fluctuate rapidly in a short time and dramatic swings of the attitudes towards the U.S. are not uncommon in South Korean society (Oh & Arrington 2007, 331-332). Scholar Hahm (2005a,

224) calls these incidents short-term causes. As mentioned previously, many different incidents generated rise of anti-American sentiment in South Korea. Killing of two schoolgirls and disqualification of South Korean speed skater in 2002 added fuel to the fire (Watts 2005, 276.) Chung-In Moon (2005) argues, that in every society both in internal and external hardship, there is tendency to find a scapegoat. In South Korea's case, the U.S. is the one to blame. Naturally violation of human rights by American soldiers is the reason to blame the country, but in the case of IMF-crisis or Kwangju incident it is not so clear. He also notes, that progressive intellectuals and NGO's have amplified anti-American sentiment by promoting progressive ideas to the people's minds. Mass media also dictates mob-psychology, that characterizes this dimension of anti-Americanism well. (C-I. Moon 2005, 145-149.) These short-term incidents are, however, results of other deeper issues.

President Bush's foreign policy enhanced anti-Americanism in South Korea deeply. Axis of evil speech, rejection of Sunshine policy and increased militarism around the World made South Koreans regard the U.S. as a threat to peace (C-I Moon 2005, 147-149.) Political issues are the third dimension of the reasons behind anti-Americanism. Shin (2010) argues that U.S. and South Korea's diverging perceptions of the North Korea is one of the main reasons for the recent problems in U.S.-ROK relations. This so-called policy rift thesis challenges the alliance the most. He specifies, that usually this conflict is between progressive South Korean government and the conservative U.S. administration. (Shin 2010, 6-7.) Straub (2015) asserts similarly. He indicates that South Korean progressives are convinced that Sunshine policy is the only way to deal with the North, and with Bush administration this did not work because of the republican U.S. government. Straub predicts that when progressives take power in South Korea, Washington's responsive will be negative again. (Straub 2015, 214-215.) Similarly, Jung (2010) argues that South Korean attitudes towards North Korea and America interact and are influenced by how much South Koreans regard North Korea as a threat. When they don't, anti-Americanism rises, when they do, pro-Americanism rises (Jung 2010, 946-948.) Thus, North Korea plays major importance in the U.S.-ROK relations.

The Obama administration declared strategic patience towards East-Asia and when anti-Americanism remained low in South Korea, ROK-PRC (People's Republic of

China) relationship became closer. Straub (2015) anticipates that eventually South Korea will become closer with China than the U.S., but in a long period shift. (Straub 2015, 216.) However, currently this does not look highly possible. Because Obama's strategic patience was unsuccessful, President Trump decided to implement strategic uncertainty toward North Korea. Sanctions have resulted some improvement in the relations between North Korea and the U.S., most recently the meeting between Kim-Jong Un and Donald Trump in Vietnam on February 2019 (Wong 2019). South Korea's president Moon Jae-In is highly interested in improving relationship between North and South, even towards possible unification. (Easley 2017, 8-9, 18.)

What is interesting, is that compared to earlier administrations, Donald Trump and Moon Jae-In seem to agree on what should be done with the North Korean issue at some level even though Moon Jae-In is liberal and Trump conservative republican. Two of them seem to have found some sort of agreement over North Korea despite their differences, and the U.S.-ROK alliance is living strong (The Atlantic 2018). However, both have promised to solve the North Korean issue, which can explain their agreement over things.

Political issues seem to be crucial in order to understand anti-American sentiment. South Korean anti-Americanism is not targeted to Americans or their culture, but politics and U.S. unilateralism, as well as power shifts in domestic politics (C-I Moon 2005, 146-149). American unilateralism was criticized around the World after 9/11 and was a global trend not unique for South Korea (Shin 2010, 5). However, after 9/11 South Korean people understood what kind of ally U.S. is and that the U.S. was not regarded as a protector or patron anymore (Woo-Cumings 2005, 68). The age of globalization and war of terror changed South Korean perceptions as well. Chung-In Moon (2005) reminds that anti-American phenomenon should be not politicized because it will result negative outcomes especially when fueled by sensational media. Instead, consultation and consensus-building will improve perceptions of the United States in South Korea. (C-I. Moon 2005, 150.) However, North Korea and China are issues that are closely related to U.S. policies as well, because American is South Korea's closest ally. Maybe both the U.S. and South Korea should learn to be more sensitive in their relations.

The fourth category is connected to all the previous dimensions, which is characterized as historical. South Koreans used to view American as their savior, but today they criticize the history of the alliance as well. Because South Korea has grown to be powerful country, they do not need the U.S. as they used to need. Shin (2010) argues that in neorealist terms, the U.S.-ROK relationship has always been asymmetrical and still is. He refers to scholar James Morrow, who points out that the relationship between patron (US) and client (ROK) is viewed through different lenses, in which client usually views the patron in larger terms and even considers patron as “significant other”. For patron state, client is more of a polity issue. (Shin 2010, 9.) This kind of study reflects the history of U.S.-ROK relationship adequately but is slowly changing as well.

Watts (2005, 278) argues that South Korea has started to recognize its power in economic, political and regional field and that the U.S. has suppressed South Korea way too long in many fields. U.S. domination, arrogance and intrusion to South Korean affairs have started to gain more attention, and even historical issues are being to shed new light. In addition, Hahm (2005a, 229) notes that anti-Americanism is a deep-seated sense of anxiety in Korean identity, reaction to new chapter in history where Korea, once again, was forced to adapt into new civilization, the American one. Since Korean identity remains to be major root for the anti-American sentiment, it serves as fifth category. How identity effects on anti-Americanism will be discussed next.

2.4 KOREAN IDENTITY AND CONCEPT OF ETHNIC NATIONALISM

Anti-American sentiment can be understood as an intercultural conflict between two different cultures. Samuel P. Huntington’s theory of clash of civilizations (1992) argues that most of the post-Cold war era conflicts are cultural clashes between different cultural hemispheres (Allison 2017, 80). Although largely criticized, this famous theory is worth noticing in the U.S.-ROK relations as well, since anti-Americanism is above all, a cultural conflict. Intercultural conflicts often involve emotional frustration and confusion of identity issues, such as disapproval-approval, disrespect-respect and value-invalidate against the groups or individuals (Shim, Kim & Martin 2008, 142). Korean identity is a complex concept and to understand it wholeheartedly, plenty of research should be done. Thus, in this thesis, theoretical

background focuses on theories of nationalism, more specifically concept of ethnic nationalism. This thesis analyzes how ethnic nationalism affects to anti-American sentiments and continues to shape identity of South Korean university students in the light of intercultural, sociological, historical and ethnological studies. Not much light will be shed to political theories, since the approach on anti-Americanism in this thesis will be bottom-up, not top-down.

Shim, Kim and Martin (2008) offer a framework to understand the causes behind U.S – South Korea intercultural conflict. They offer four different assumptions to their framework. First, intercultural conflict often involves lack of knowledge. Secondly, conflict contains biased intergroup attitudes and stereotyping. Power imbalances serve as third assumption, which are utterly evident in the U.S.-ROK relations and connected to U.S. hegemonic character which is depicted arrogant and ethnocentric. Finally, intercultural conflicts involve identity issues such as emotional frustration and confusion regarding one's identity. (Shim, Kim & Martin 2008, 138-142.) In addition, Campbell (2016, 5) presents framework for analyzing new South Korean nationalism, which includes casual theories of nationalism, categories of types of nationalism and characteristics of nationalism. These two frameworks serve as base in this thesis to analyze South Korean anti-Americanism from ethno-cultural viewpoint.

Nationalistic studies debate whether nation is constructed modern concept or primordial, linked to ethnicity prior nations. In Korean case, race, ethnicity and nation are not differentiated; instead, they converge. Korean word *minjok* (민족) refers to all terms; nation, ethnicity and race. From primordial view, Koreans are descendants of *Tan'gun* (단군), mythical father of the Korean race, whereas in constructivist view, Korean nation is modern construct of nationalistic ideology that emerged late 19th century, after the collapse of hierarchical society, where people did not feel like belonging to one nation. Some scholars argue that historical developments in pre-modern Korea served as a base for Korean nationalism in modern age. (Shin 2006, 4-7.) Overall, roots of Korean nationalism are hard to trace, and as Campbell (2016, 21) suggests, too many scholars cling to understanding of Korean nation and fail to explain current explicit nationalism in South Korea. This

thesis uses mainly constructivist analyses of nationalism but takes account the whole historical context as well.

Shin Gi-Wook's *Ethnic Nationalism in Korea* (2006) serves as this thesis' background for concept of ethnic nationalism. Shin argues that ethnic nationalism came to dominate other identity categories (class/religion) and nation based on common blood and common ancestry came to prevail over other notions of nation in Korea along with quarrelsome politics in and outside of the nation in historically embedded and structurally contingent contexts (Shin 2006, 11). For Shin, nationalism has influenced on strong sense of Korean collectivity in modern times and has been affected by different ideologies, such as left-right, authoritarian-democratic, modern-antimodern and local-transnational. Thus, ethnic nationalism has played multiple functions in Korean history and along these lines ethnic nationalism must be recognized. (Ibid.,13-16.)

As mentioned before, South Koreans are very proud of their country, especially the younger generations. Ethnic expressions of nationalism such as pride in sports and Hallyu are gaining more popularity among young people, who do not regard democratic or social justice as important as their parents. Instead, they are prouder of their culture, history, technology and science (Campbell 2016, 19.) Era of globalization has changed concept of ethnic nationalism, and Korea's approach to globalization is instrumentalist, nationalistic and regionalist to large extent. Globalization is accepted to enhance national interest but at the same time protect national values and practices. (Shin 2006, 11.)

South Korea seems to have adapted nationalistic-instrumental approach to globalization, which is reflected in attitudes towards Americans as well. Globalization and foreigners are welcome if they respect Korean culture and give their input to Korean society. On contrast, South Korea tries to maximize pros of globalization while trying to avoid any cons. Y. Lee & K. Lee (2015, 147) address this as economic nationalism, that is common in countries with strong traditional values companied by a strong state, but which are still on transitional state towards more mature economy, and they use open globalization in order to achieve this goal. South Korean economy is thus accompanied in nationalistic sentiment as well.

Ethnic nationalism as a source of Anti-Americanism can be understood in several ways. First, ethnic nationalism can be linked to progressive nationalistic identity which opposes U.S unlike conservative nationalistic identity, which is highly pro-American. In this case anti-Americanism is linked to Korean political sphere which divides to liberals and conservatives. However, Korean ethnic identity is not connected to politics but sociological forces. (Shin 2012, 194-195.) Secondly, anti-Americanism could be seen as nationalistic movement itself. Democratic transition in Korea gave rise to anti-Americanism, which reflects nationalistic pride and is nationalistic movement, such as anti-imperialism in the 20th century. Koo (2017, 204) notes that in fact anti-Americanism seeks to overcome imperialism with the help of nationalism. However, 21st century anti-Americanism differs from earlier movements by focusing on democratic concepts and including people from different social situations. (K. Moon 2003, 136-147.)

Thirdly, ethnic nationalism is associated with unification. Woo-Cumings (2005) argues that ethnic nationalism views North Koreans as Koreans as well, and thus conflicting views over North Korea by U.S. and South Korea cause a stir. South Koreans are not simply protecting themselves, but also other Koreans who happen to live in the North. (Woo-Cumings 2005, 66.) Shin (2012, 55-56) continues, that ethnic nationalism is the main reason that generated strain in the U.S.-ROK policy during Bush administration, and North continues to emphasize the current politics of national identity and influence on U.S. relations. On contrary, Campbell (2016) points out that young generation, *isipdae*¹⁴ (이십대), are highly against unification and consider their identity as South Koreans. Based on interviews of high school and university students, she argues that *isipdae* is adopting new identity which is critical towards North Korea because unification is seen as a threat to prosperity and stability. These highly individualistic young South Koreans are forming ethnic identity, globalized cultural nationalism, which hinders unified understanding of Korean nation. (Campbell 2016, 138, 181-182.)

Gilbert Rozman is a major scholar who has been researching Korean identity to large extent. He argues that South Korean identity has had only little basis to develop

¹⁴Translated as twenty-something. *Isipdae* in this thesis refers to current young generation who are the first generation who have lived their whole lived in post-1987 democratic South Korea (Campbell 2016, 49).

broad notion of nationality during its history. South Korea was not able to exercise sovereignty during 20th century because of Japanese colonialism, Korean war, and military regimes. Especially the division of Korean peninsula affected to identity of both countries. Then after the collapse of Soviet Union, constant new developments have continued to test this suppressed identity. Modernity, capitalism, democracy, unilateralism and globalism have given their own influence on South Korea's confused identity, but some things never change. Despite growth of regionalism, Japan continues to be seen as a foe and the U.S trusted ally. History with Japan is not forgotten, whereas American past is characterized with historical amnesia which distorts the past. Furthermore, South Koreans seem to suffer from national humiliation because of their suppressed history, which naturally explains their enthusiasm for ethnic nationalism. But in the global World, it is hard to distinguish national identity from ethnicity. (Gilbert Rozman 2010, 69-76.) South Koreans seem to know that they are Koreans, but South Korean identity remains to be found.

Combining theories of nationalism, intercultural conflicts and cultural identity this thesis attempts to understand larger context behind South Korean anti-Americanism. Sociological and historical understandings provide wider insight to this ethno-cultural issue. Some weight will be placed on gender perspective and political issues, but not profoundly. To answer the hypothesis that South Korean university students perceive the U.S. positively, the results of the survey research are analyzed. Not major research results are expected to be found. Moreover, this thesis aims to understand South Korean national identity in the light of anti-Americanism, which is after all, more than just hatred towards America. The literature and methods used in this thesis are introduced next.

3 METHODOLOGY AND MATERIALS

3.1 CONDUCTING SEMI-STRUCTURED SURVEY INTERVIEW

While walking on the streets of Seoul, one would not think that South Korea is anti-American country. The huge greenspace next to Itaewon is owned by the U.S. military and American franchises such as Starbucks and McDonald's are seen everywhere. However, studies from the beginning of the 21st century argue that anti-Americanism was evident in the South Korea during the first decade of 2000nds (Watts 2005, 279). On the 2010's, surveys suggest that anti-Americanism has declined in South Korea (Bialik 2018). Anyhow, South Korea is deeply divided country politically and generationally, and this division reflects to attitudes towards the U.S. and North Korea.

Many scholars point out that during the history of anti-American sentiment in South Korea students have been the most active protestors, and this is thought to be generational phenomenon (Chae 2005, 107). Kim and Yoo (2017, 48-48) argue that although surveys such as PEW indicate that South Korean views of the U.S. are positive, many people are susceptible of embracing negative attitudes because of exploitative nature of anti-Americanism in the past as well as large amount of neutral answers given in the surveys. Thus, I became interested of how South Korean college students really think of the U.S. in 2018 and since it is not so widely studied topic in the academia, I decided to appoint it as my research question.

The target group is university students in South Korea, aged 20-40 years. This group was chosen since university students are known to be critical towards the U.S. They also grew up in slightly independent South Korea, which is able of managing on its own, according to surveys (Kim & Park 2005, 265). Also, it was easier to conduct survey on university students since many students hang out on campus and were able communicate in English a bit as well. The overall atmosphere at the campus is encouraging towards academic research and since I was able to visit campus every day during my exchange period, it felt natural to conduct the survey there and not on some other place.

To answer the research question, this thesis uses semi-structured questionnaire as its main methodology. Semi-structured questionnaire includes both fixed and open-

ended questions, to which respondents can answer with their own words. All questions are connected to function of the research and reflect the study's in-depth explorations of the phenomenon (Galletta and Cross 2013, 45). The study is both quantitative and qualitative, although quantitative data collected is more extent. As an analysis method, thematic analysis is implemented to all open-ended questions whereas statistical analysis is used only for fixed questions to show statistics of the survey answers. Excel and SPSS are used as tools for my analysis, excel on some of the graphic display and SPSS on statistical analysis, which is analyzed by Mann Whitney U test and Kruskal-Wallis test.

3.2 SURVEY FORM

The survey form includes forty-six questions from which forty-two are fixed questions and four are open. Each of the questions are connected to four different themes; to U.S.-ROK alliance, American culture and society, American foreign policy and American influence in South Korea. Four open questions do not match with the themes utterly, since the open question's goal is to gather respondent's own views. Nine different dependent variables are observed. Age, gender, university degree, university, income, home province, political ideology, experience of working or studying abroad and English language skill level. (See appendix I.)

The themes of the survey research were chosen by the earlier survey researches and anti-American literature. Kim and Park (2005, 256-262) analyze in their study perception of American society, people, influence both in South Korea and Korean peninsula as well as influence of the World. Kim and Yoo (2017, 54-56) focus more on the political side in their study of anti-Americanism in Japan, Korea and China, examining roles of the U.S. and China, relationship between own nation and U.S. and American culture and society. In the literature, anti-Americanism is usually linked to North Korean issue, domestic and foreign politics and nationalism. In my survey, I decided to give political aspect less weight and concentrate on how university students think of alliance, which is the reason why the U.S. military is in the Peninsula. I also decided to pay emphasis on culture and society to know whether or not respondents like American society and culture. Finally, emphasis is given on U.S. foreign politics, which cannot be crossed over, since U.S. foreign policies are often the reason for anti-American demonstrations. Furthermore, U.S. influence on

South Korea is more cross-themed issue, which explains more about how South Korean university students perceive the impact the U.S has their culture and society as a whole and can be linked to ethnic nationalism as well.

Survey form is four pages long¹⁵, and the forty-two fixed questions are presented first. In the form, certain themes are not differentiated, but U.S.-ROK themed questions come first and the U.S. foreign policy questions last. Influence themed questions are mixed in the survey in order to avoid biased answers. Personal information is gathered on the last page of the survey form after four open questions. I did the survey form multiple times for different platforms such as SurveyMonkey, Google forms and Microsoft Word, which I used for my final survey. I thought of gathering some answers via SurveyMonkey.com and Google Forms, but distribution of the survey link turned out to be hard. I sent the link on some social media platforms and actually managed to collect responses from five, but I will not use those on my data analysis, since I will focus only on pencil and paper survey. I could use online survey platforms in the future but that requires mailing lists, which in this case I did not have access to.

The survey is slightly long and takes around ten minutes to answer, which is one of the problems of the survey. However, since there are four themes to answer, I thought it is necessary to include at least ten questions per theme. In the U.S.-ROK and American culture and society theme there are twelve questions, whereas in influence theme only ten and U.S. foreign policy there are most questions, fourteen. This is because I divided the questions evenly to three themes first, and only afterwards noticed that hidden influence themed questions are lacking two questions, but I do not think this is a problem. I included many exclusive questions on the form which hopefully reduces biased answers.

The survey form took two months to complete and was first written in English and finally translated to Korean. Grammar was checked by my local friend Sarah Park. Google translator and Korean grammar applications were used to help me with the translation of difficult words. Otherwise translation turned out to be relatively easy, since I have studied Korean language independently for couple of years. At first, I thought that translation of the survey form could end up being a major problem, but

¹⁵ The original survey form is four pages long but the appendix 1 is five due marginals of this thesis.

actually forming a good survey form was the most difficult part. However, even though native Korean language speaker translated and checked the grammar to easily understandable Korean, some questions were not understood well enough. Especially the question regarding if the participant has studied or worked outside Korea seemed to cause confusion, and many people have not answered to this question. This could be also because the question is too close to question before it on the survey form, so it could be that people simply did not notice it. Overall the survey form is clear and easy to understand, but when participants were in a hurry, some mistakes were made because the survey is slightly long. The survey is able to provide a lot of information about anti-Americanism in South Korea, but because of its length it was hard to collect more than fifty answers, but which is enough for a small research such as master's thesis.

3.3 DATA COLLECTION

At first, I did not plan to conduct a survey research in South Korea, but when I was accepted to exchange program on May 2018, the idea came to my mind and felt natural to use this opportunity to interview people at the university campus. Making a survey research was a completely new thing for me but also a good way to know what local people really think about anti-Americanism. Since I cannot read Korean so well, reading and analyzing journals or social media felt challenging. Therefore, when I got opportunity to conduct a survey research, I took the chance and decided to use survey research as my main method in my master's thesis.

My main idea was to collect data on November 2018 after I had composed the survey form and checked the grammar. Yonsei, which was my exchange university, was a natural choice for collecting data. Yonsei university was found in 1885 and is one of the oldest and most prestigious universities in South Korea. Since Yonsei is a private university and classified as elite university among South Korean people, I must be critical towards my survey, since students in Yonsei are thought to be "top of society" in contemporary South Korea. Thus, my survey participants do not represent average South Korean university student's opinion which I have to bear in mind, although students of Yonsei come from different parts of South Korea, not only from Seoul.

Interestingly though, Yonsei has always had active student union and according to one of my professors¹⁶ in Yonsei, it has been a platform of student protests since 1980's. Moreover, SKY universities have acted as major mobilizing force for student organizations to fight against U.S. influence and force in the past (K. Moon 2012, 32). One could think that Yonsei has some sort of legacy in protesting America which I will look more deeply in my survey analysis. Moreover, Yonsei is Christian university, but I do not think this will have much of weight on the subject, since anti-Americanism in Korea is not usually associated with religion.

The data was collected at Yonsei university in Seoul on November-December in 2018. It took three times to distribute all the fifty survey forms at the Yonsei university campus. At first it felt really confounding to go and ask people in Korean if they would like to take a part of my survey, since I did not have any experience of such an action beforehand. I asked help from my professors in Yonsei as well as from the office of international affairs without any help or guidance, which made me feel quite uncertain about the whole survey. Luckily, my friend Oanh offered her help in distributing the survey, which turned out to be a nice activity instead of being distressing for me. She gave couple of survey forms to her husband, who again gave these forms to his students at Sungkyunkwan university.

Most of the answers were gathered from Yonsei, but two of them from Sungkyunkwan university. Unfortunately, all the answers were collected in Seoul, and thus sampling of the survey is not geographically very wide. Also, due the lack of time I did not manage to collect more than fifty answer sheets. I was hoping to visit other universities in Seoul as well, but this turned out to be impossible, since studies in Yonsei took most of my time. Collecting data turned out to be more difficult than I thought, as well as more exhausting. Couple of hours of walking around the campus with survey forms and pencils was not easy, especially when you had to talk the language you were not very confident of speaking, but the experience itself was very enriching.

The survey form was distributed after 5pm at the Yonsei university campus area on two Mondays and one Wednesday. Most of the survey answers were collected from

¹⁶ Professor Park Myung Lim told for the class of Globalization and Regional Transformation in East-Asia that he had been protesting Park Chung-Hee in Yonsei among many other's in 1980's.

the main library, cafeteria and canteen. My technique was to approach people who seemed to have idle time after dinner or between studies, and this turned out to work well. I approached people with the same sentence: "Excuse me, do you have time? Could you fill up this survey research?" For my surprise, most of the people I approached agreed to fill up the survey form, which implies that my technique worked quite well. Reasons for declining were often being in a hurry or middle of the conversation, but couple of students told that they did not understand the context at all, which was an interesting observation. Some were obviously not interested or too tired to fill up a survey form. For some students I told not to take part of the open question section if they were in a hurry to gather the data quickly. Luckily, most of participants (N=29) wrote down their thoughts on the open question section, which enables qualitative analysis of the survey as well.

Speaking Korean and understanding what participants asked turned out to be easier than I thought. Also, most of the people understood the questions and filled up the survey form carefully. I observed that it was best to approach couples or friends, who would gladly fill up the survey with someone. Some groups had conversations of the issue and shared their thoughts, which gave the impression that anti-Americanism is an interesting phenomenon even among the South Koreans themselves. Many were surprised when they read the title of the survey, but certainly on a good manner. It was nice to see, that South Koreans were interested of the topic and wanted to fill up the survey form. This gave me a lot of confidence regarding my thesis.

After finishing the data collection, I checked the survey forms and randomly numbered them from one to fifty to make them completely anonymous so that I could avoid any bias towards participants. For my delight, most of the survey forms came out without any empty answers, but there were some. One participant had written a lot of text on open questions but apparently had not noticed that the form is printed on two sides and thus one page was left completely blank. I decided to dismiss this answer sheet. However, for other blank answers or so-called item nonresponse, I used imputation method. Imputation enables statistical data analysis and improves the data quality even when there are item nonresponses in survey form (De Waal; Pannekoek & Scholtus 2011, 223-224). Since there were not many item nonresponses, I decided to apply average imputation method. Some questions may

have been sensitive or hard to answer and thus respondents have left them blank, which is why I impute choice three “neutral” for these item nonresponses. This method may distort the data but not in a large manner. The weakness in usage of five-point Likert’s scale in my survey is that participants may have not understood that middle category on the scale does not only mean neutral but also “uncertain” or “neither agree nor disagree” which has possibly caused some confusion (Aldridge & Levine 2001, 96).

3.4 COLLECTED DATA

Out of fifty participants, 56 % were female (N=28) and 44 % male (N=22). I tried to approach equally both sexes, but women were more willing to fill the survey form, which could be a reason for uneven sampling. All participants were Korean, but 16 % (N=8) answered that they were native English speakers, either Korean-Americans or from other part of Anglosphere. However, I decided to include them in my data analysis, since double nationality does not eliminate Korean identity from them and it is essentialist to think that for example American citizenship makes one naturally pro-American. The results also indicate that native English speakers did not necessarily have more positive attitude towards the U.S, which I will analyze more in the next section. Overall 22% (N=11) had advanced English language proficiency and 46% (N=23) intermediate. Only 14% (N=7) thought they knew little of English.

Since Yonsei university has more undergraduate (18 000) than postgraduate (11 000) students¹⁷, majority of the participants were also undergraduates, altogether 68 % (N=34). Postgraduate students combined 26 % of the participants (N=13) and doctorate students only 4 % (N=2). One participant defined his status as “on leave”. This education section seemed to cause confusion among participant, since many of the postgraduate students had chosen response option (other) instead of option (postgraduate) and written down that they are postgraduates. Apparently, only two of the participants understood that Korean word *jol-eobsaeng* means graduate in this context, but luckily postgraduates had written down their educational level on the “other” response option. This was one of the major grammar mistakes of the survey but did not cause any impairment.

¹⁷ https://www.yonsei.ac.kr/en_sc/intro/status1.jsp Retrieved 23.04.2019

Most of the students were born in Seoul, as much as 76 % (N=38) which was to be expected since Yonsei locates Seoul and majority of Korean people live in Seoul metropolitan area. Furthermore, 20% (N=10) came out from Gyeonggi-do, province which surrounds Seoul. Only two participants came from some other province, North Gyeongsang province. This lack of geographical variety is one of the weaknesses of the survey data, which must be kept in mind when analyzing the data. As for foreign study or working experience, 42 % (N=21) agreed to have it. However, since some participants did not answer on this question, I need to look at the answers more critically. As for question about income, as much as 80% had little or no income at all (N=40) and 16% (N=8) of the participants earned 900-2600 USD per month. Only two earned more than 2600 USD, which implies that students in Yonsei do not have much income or did not want to tell about it for various reasons.

For my contentment, some variation between participants background data also appears in two categories. The age scale of the participants is from 20 to 39 with average of 25 years. While planning my survey form I thought of this kind of scale from late twenties to late thirties and for my gratitude all of the participants fit on this scale. Another personal question that induced variety is political ideology. Either leftist or center-leftist were 24 % (N=6 and N=6) whereas right-wing or center right-wing was supported by 42 % (N=7 and N=14). Center was favored by 34 % (N=17). This question will be at the heart on my analysis, since political views shape Korean people's attitudes towards the U.S. in a large manner. Brendan O'Connor (2007, 37) notes that in Europe, both left and right disdain America for different reasons both in the fields of culture and politics.

In South Korea, things are different. Chang (2009, 174-175) notes that supporters of Sunshine policy (progressives/leftists) are critical of the US policy regarding North Korea and think that US troops stationed in South Korea are obstacle for reunification, whereas conservatives (right-wing) are supporting US policies. Chang continues, that in the wake of ideological divide, class division is also emerging and serves as another cause for left-right division that is escalating and no reconciliation between two is seen in foreseeable future. South Korea is divided politically which reflects to anti-American sentiment as well.

3.5 METHODS OF ANALYSING THE DATA

Analysis method of the data was most difficult to decide, since I was not very familiar with quantitative research methods such as statistical analysis before. Therefore, I had to do a lot of reading until I was able to decide my statistical analysis technique and overall to understand how statistical analysis is done. I was familiar with excel and eventually started my analysis with it, since it felt easy at first to approach my data with it.

At first, I transferred my survey data on Excel by counting how many answers there were on Likert's scale for each question to see the percentages of each question's answers. I also formed tables out of so-called personal questions that were analyzed with excel as well. These informative questions can be called as subjective descriptors because these categories are chosen because of their probable relevance to topics of the survey. (Gillham 2000, 49.) First, I formed analysis grid where you can see all the subjective descriptors of each answer sheet. This helps me to find personal data of each participants quickly. Secondly, I formed grids of every personal detail, and produced chart of each category in order to see overall percentages of each subjective descriptors.

However, I soon noticed that I won't be able to get much analyze out of this kind of graphical display, so I started to find other ways to analyze surveys that are mostly concentrated on finding out people's opinions and are measured by Likert's scale. Scholar Bill Gillham's *Developing a Questionnaire* (2008) turned out to be really helpful guide for the analysis of questionnaire research method. The book was firstly published in 2000, and both of the printouts are used as guidebooks. According to Gillham's (2008, 50) advise, I prepared numerical table (data matrix) out of my answers on excel. I conducted more graphical displays of out of my data as well as cross tabulating on SPSS. However, I wanted to perform statistical test on my data as well. Non-mathematicians can only have limited use and understanding of statistics, but even with this limited use, non-mathematicians can gain useful knowledge with certain simple tools and make better sense out of their data – to say more and to say it validly. Gillham (2008) suggests the usage of chi-square, because it deals with categorical data, data that is categorized in certain themes or groups. Chi square also enables researcher to say something more valid about differences between different

categories such as gender. (Ibid., 71.) However, after reading lots of articles and comments about which statistical test I should perform for my data, I decided to use Mann-Whitney U and Kruskal-Wallis tests instead.

The usage of Mann-Whitney U test and Kruskal-Wallis test was decided, because the data in non-parametric¹⁸, variables are ordinal¹⁹ and I want to know if there is difference between different categories in how they answer to certain questions. Mann-Whitney test is used to test, whether there is significance difference in answers between two random samples (like gender). Since my survey is researching attitudes and is measured by Likert's scale, I cannot perform t-test. Kruskal-Wallis test is similar to Mann-Whitney U test, but in Kruskal-Wallis there can be more than two samples (university degree, ideology). (Tikkanen 2017, 20, 25.) Both of test are based on null-hypothesis, which means that researcher will not find any difference between two groups or in other words, answers are similar among all groups. P-value (probability value) that is used is 0.05 (5 %), which means that if the given results is below 0.05, probability is significant or in other words, researcher can reject the null hypothesis. That is, there is difference between the samples. (Gillham 2000, 87, 100.)

The test is run with SPSS, which I was able to download on my computer and I transferred excel data matrix on SPSS. I had not used SPSS before, but with help of and small SPSS guide from University of Turku by Tikkanen (2017) I was able to conduct my analysis easily. I got access to this guide with help of my brother, who served as my statistical analysis mentor during the research process. Furthermore, *Surveying a Social World – Principles and Practice in Survey Research* by Aldridge & Levine (2001) serves as helpful guide book as well, since it explains the survey research process very precisely from the beginning to analysis and presentation of the results.

Open-ended questions are analyzed differently. First of all, the questions had to be translated into English. This caused a lot of trouble, since sometimes it was hard to understand what participants had written because of different handwritings, especially since I did not have much experience of reading hand written Korean.

¹⁸ Non-parametric statistics rest on relatively few assumptions about the population where the sample is drawn (Aldridge, Alan & Levine, Ken 2001, 179).

¹⁹ Variables that are on ordinal level of measurement form a ranking or in other words, categories have intrinsic order (Aldridge & Levine 2001, 130).

Once again, I used Google translate as my main tool. The answers of which I was not completely sure what the participant meant I decided to ignore in order to avoid misunderstandings. Once I had translated the answers, I wrote them down to my computer in English and started analyzing. As mentioned before, all four questions are divided into four themes. However, according to Gillham (2000, 66-67), answers should be divided to different categories as well and that when going through each answer, it is necessary to highlight substantive statements, those that really say something. Therefore, as for method, thematic analysis is used for open questions. An article by Moira Maguire and Brid Delahunt (2017) is used as methodological guide. Thematic analysis identifies patterns or themes within qualitative data. Attention is paid for themes that are interesting and say something about the research issue. However, good thematic analysis looks beyond what people have said. (Maguire & Delahunt 2017, 3352-53.) In the next chapter, results of the analysis are presented.

4 ANALYSIS

4.1 INTRODUCTION TO STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

Young South Koreans are more global and transnational than older generations. This phenomenon was to be seen in the survey research as well. According to K. Moon (2012), young South Korean people have been developing new consciousness of peace, reconciliation, multiculturalism and political activism on 21st century. Moon continues, that these young South Koreans, despite being irrational and naïve, consider their regard for the US in terms of self-interest practical considerations (K. Moon 2012, 58-59.) Nonetheless, young generation also have both pro- and anti-Americans feelings in a broad spectrum, just like the older and more conservative generations had and thus, pro- and anti-Americanism are actually two sides of the same coin in South Korean society (Bong 2004, 158-159). In the survey research, generational gaps are not very well distinguishable, since the sample group is only targeted to university students. However, anti-Americanism in South Korea certainly seems to be a two-sided coin.

Results of the survey research were somewhat prepared for. Overall, respondents had more positive than negative attitude towards the US. For example, Question 42 “My overall opinion about the US is positive” 46 % (N=23) of the respondents agreed with the question, whereas only 6 % (N=3) disagreed. However, one out of third, 32 % (N=16) had neutral attitude (See figure 1). This kind of answering orientation is evident on the whole survey. According to Gillham (2000, 26) questions about attitudes and opinions are usually difficult to answer, since people might not have developed opinions, attitudes are usually complex, and they vary in intensity and especially in scaled responses that have only defined use of scale, people tend to lean on the mildly positive side. This tendency is thus seen in the results of the survey research of this thesis. Consequently, result of the survey correlate with the hypothesis of this survey, South Korean university students have positive attitude towards the United States of the America. However, to analyze the survey results more specifically, other hypothesizes were formed and eventually, certain issues emerged to be more significant than others, which were sustained with more detailed analysis.

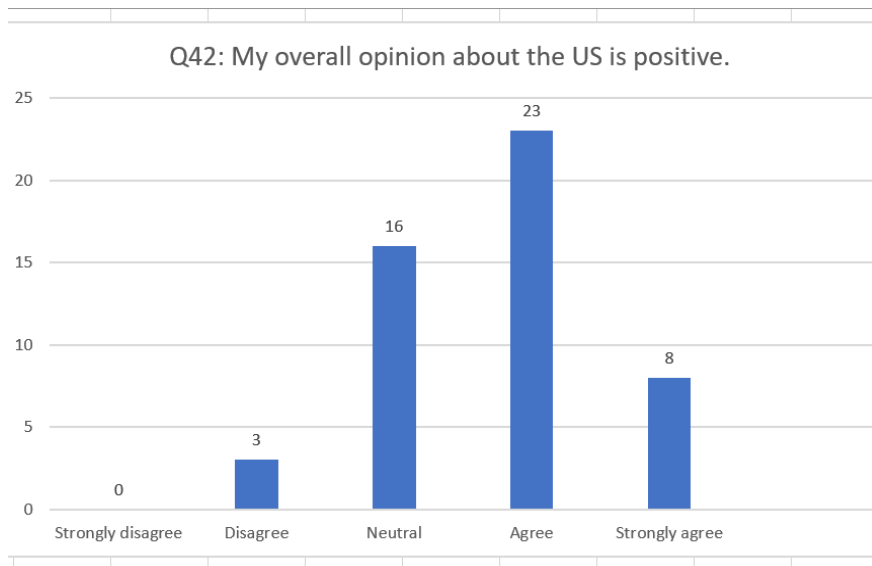


Figure 1 Chart of the respondent's answers on Q42. Majority (N=31) agree.

In survey research, people are often asked various personal questions, subject descriptors, as mentioned before. Usually subject descriptors such as age, gender and education play important role in statistical analysis, since they tend to be divided into smaller divisions that are easy and profitable to analyze (Gillham 2000, 50). Since the target group of this survey research was university students, it was to be expected that especially gender could provide fruitful analysis. University degree or age, for example, could have been factors that would have offered enough differentiation between respondents, but unfortunately, due a small number of participants (N=50), this did not occur.

As for age, the average age is twenty-five (A=25) and majority of the respondents were on their twenties. Thus, there was not enough variety among the respondents, which was to be expected since university students are often on their twenties or thirties. The same goes for university degree as well. While doing cross-tabulation, there was no significant difference between bachelor's degree and master's degree on responses. Thus, the hypothesis about the case that university degree would cause differentiation between answers to how university students perceive the United States was nullified, at least in this research. As for age, it is highly probable that some differentiation could have been acquired, if the number of respondents would have been bigger and there had been more variety among ages (See figure 2). However, for the indulgence of this research, some subject descriptors offered

reasonable numbers of variety and thus, the analysis was mainly built on these variables.

The hypotheses of this statistical analysis are as following:

H1: Gender has influence on university student's attitudes towards the U.S.-ROK alliance.

H2: University student's ideology effects on how they perceive the US world politics and influence.

H3: Foreign experience influences how university students feel about American culture and society.

H4: University student's think that there is anti-Americanism in South Korea.

In the next three chapters, analysis is conducted on three major variables of the survey, that were formed into different themes; gender, ideology and foreign experience and English skill. These themes were found to have condensed results than others, which is why they are given more important role than others in this analysis.

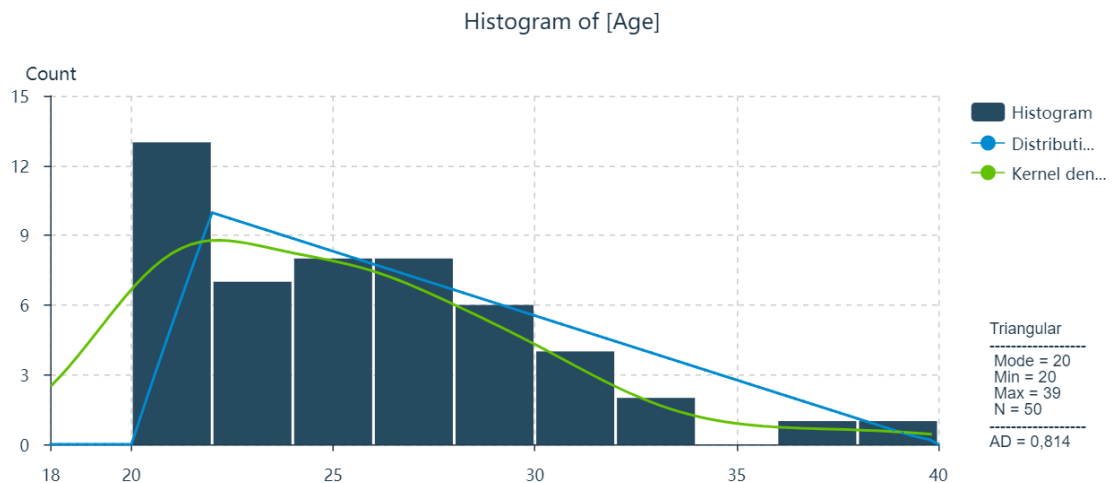


Figure 2 Histogram of respondents ages.

4.1.1 Gender

Female and male university students come from various backgrounds which naturally effects on the way how they perceive the United States. However, these backgrounds often remain unknown for the researcher, since heavily personal questions of one's personal, family and childhood background are not very sensible in survey research, that investigates attitudes and personal opinions, such as the survey of this thesis (See appendix 1). Hence, researcher cannot take these aspects into account, even though these issues certainly shape the views of the respondents. Nevertheless, one major difference can be comprehended between male and female respondents of the survey, that is military service.

In South Korea, following the enactment of Military Service Law in 1949, modern conscription system was implemented in 1957 as a fundamental part of South Korean armed forces. The military was naturally designed by the United States and manned by all vigorous men, who were over nineteen years old to serve in military for twenty-six months. In the World of Cold War and under military regime of Park Chung-Hee, mandatory conscription (1965) was widely accepted in South Korean context as a necessity to secure the country's defense. However, after economic growth and democratization in the 1990's, predominance of conscription started to unravel, especially among young and educated men that were aware of the equity problem of the conscription though the mass-media and grassroots activism. This new generation did not take mandatory military service as granted. (S. Moon 2005a, 69-70.)

The new generation has often grown up in middle-classed families, in urban neighborhoods and enjoyed moderately wealthy and healthy lives. Furthermore, they are used in consumerism and individualism, which are highly contrasted to military ethics, such as authoritarianism and collectivism. These socioeconomical changes have influenced on people's lives enormously but military service has remained generally the same. (S. Moon 2005a, 70.) No wonder, that currently many South Koreans support conscious objectors that are sentenced to long jail-service, because they do not want to perform military service. Nevertheless, conservative views of military service are still standing strong among current generation according to

various studies (Denney 2015). Universal male conscription and nationalism still seem to have their place in South Korea's society.

Military is densely related to masculinity in various ways. According to S. Moon (2005a), military exploits maleness by creating hypermasculine cult, that separates soldiers from effeminate civilians. This cult of resilient and aggressive masculinity reduces female body and feminine features to indicators of otherness that are to be destroyed by soldiers. Completion of mandatory military service can be seen as a passport into male adulthood in South Korean society. (S. Moon 2005a, 72.) As military service is connected to masculinity, it is also connected to defense and thus into South Korean foreign relations and to anti-American sentiment. National security is militarized, and in South Korea military is masculinized as in other parts of the World as well. Furthermore, since military service is considered sacred and all men regardless of religion, age or any other cause must serve in the military, one can argue that military certainly has influence on the way that South Korean men think of the United States.

What about the effect of military on women's lives? Katharine Moon, who has researched anti-Americanism and gender politics along with S. Moon (2005a) argues that militarized masculinity also involves selective implementation of femininity as well. For example, cardinal themes of corresponding femininity to militarized masculinity include soldiers as filial and protective sons to their mothers, that symbolize the mother nation, and soldiers protecting their fiancées and girlfriends, that symbolize exclusive realm of intimacy and signify their families in the future. (S. Moon 2005a, 79.) Women are to be protected and thus is the mother nation as well. Therefore, anti-American sentiments that could threaten mother nation's sovereignty by convoying with the enemy, are not to be tolerated.

However, women have not stayed behind the militarized masculinity on past decades. K. Moon (2012) argues, that women have organized actively since late 1980's. Progressive human rights and democracy activists were first to pay attention to *kiji ch'on* (기지촌) women, who were women working in the US military base camps as prostitutes and were not recognized as legitimate Korean citizens until 1990's, when their rights started to become recognized. (K. Moon 2012, 144-146.) However, despite women's activism, they are still widely excluded from the area of politics,

since nation is filled with masculine nationalism. Although women are active and raise gender issues to the political sphere, the issues have a habit to remain in the marginal because of masculine character of South Korean nation. Women are not seen as legitimate actors of nation. But, in contemporary South Korea, there is more room for gender specific concerns in political sphere than twenty-years ago. Women's movement does not seek to revolutionize South Korean society but serves more as an umbrella for many types of political, social and economic injustice and criticism. (K. Moon 2012, 188-190.)

Although women are affected by the militarized South Korean society, military institution is additionally challenged especially by younger generation, who tend to emphasize human rights and gender equality more than older generations. Older generation is more influenced by Confucian values, that are highly hierarchical and patriarchal, as is the military. But, such values were inconceivable and even impossible under military dictatorship, so older generations did not really have other chance than to obey the rules of military dictatorship. (Bong & Moon 2007, 88.) Furthermore, younger generation has also had better opportunities for high education than older generations. K. Moon (2012, 49) suggest that higher education along with social mobility seems to incline attitudes towards the US to more negative, and since older generation did not have possibilities to get high educated, their views remain more naïve and uniformed towards the US. When examining generations, researcher must bury in mind that society has changed a lot and every generation has lived in different context, thus essentialist assumptions and anachronism.

The respondents of the survey were high-educated, which obviously correspond to the more negative view of the US than lower-educated respondents would had. Unfortunately, the survey form did not include question about military service and thus one cannot say for sure, if the male respondents have completed the military service or not. Also, the survey does not tell anything about student activism, thus not much cannot be said whether or not respondents are active on political issues or not. But, in the light of the research material and statistical analysis, the outcome of the analysis is that there is significant difference between genders on how they feel about the U.S.-ROK alliance, American influence and the U.S foreign policy. The following statistical analysis was performed on subject descriptor (gender) and

following themes (U.S alliance, influence and foreign policy). The results of Mann-Whitney U test are as following.

The U.S alliance themed questions divide female and male respondents views distinctly to more negative and more positive sentiments. Questions number 4 “I think South Korea benefits from the U.S.-ROK alliance” (See figure 3 and 4) and number 9 “I think it is important to have American soldiers in South Korea” (See figure 5) show, that women do not regard the U.S.-ROK alliance as crucial as men do. The results of question four reject the null-hypothesis, since $Z = -3,519$; $p < 0,001$. Null hypothesis is also rejected on question nine ($Z = -3,280$; $p < 0,001$).

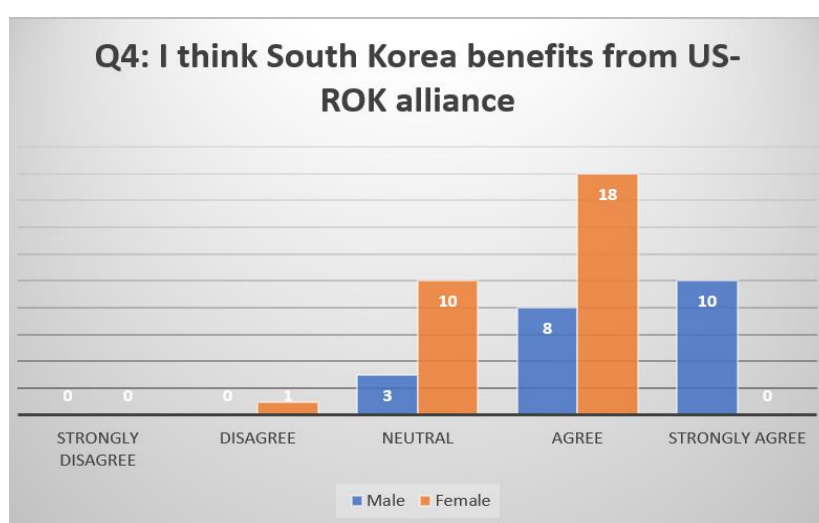


Figure 3 Female respondents answers are more neutral toned than male respondents to question 4. Male respondents strongly agree whereas women only agree or answer neutrally.

These results suggest that South Korean women have generally more negative attitudes towards the U.S.-ROK alliance than men. (See figures 4 and 5). However, female respondents seem to answer more neutrally than men, which could explain the results, whereas male respondents have answered more often to “strongly agree” option. But, it is evident that male respondents have more positive view about the U.S.-ROK alliance than women, who possibly do not have any opinion about the alliance or they really don’t care. As seen on the graphs 3 and 4, female respondents seem to answer either “neutral” or “agree” and some even “disagree” whereas majority of male respondents “agree” or “strongly agree”, and not single disagreement is disclosed.

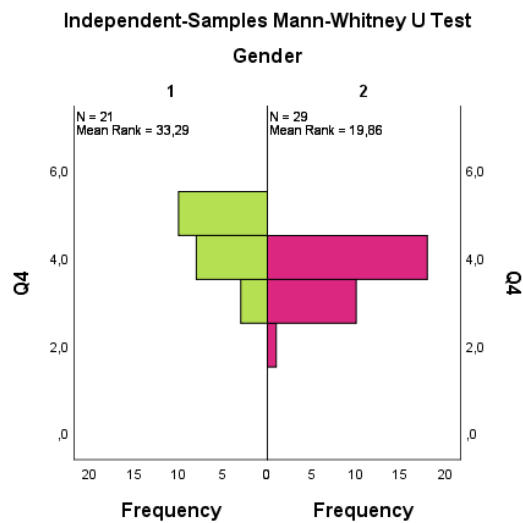


Figure 4 Female respondents answer more neutrally/negatively ($N=11$) compared to male ($N=3$). This is significant, as $p < 0,001$.

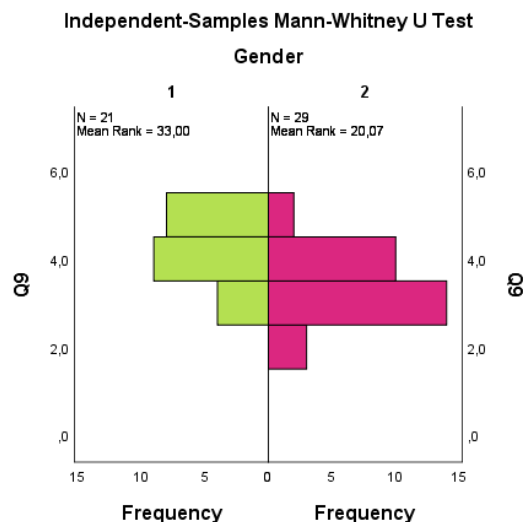


Figure 5 Similarly to figure 4, $p < 0,01$. Seventeen female respondents answered neutrally or negatively, whereas from male respondents only four.

As for influence, question number 23 “I think that US influence is bad for South Korean culture” indicates that women tend to have more neutral view about American influence. Male respondents disagreed with the question more often than women who answered neutrally or agreed with the question. The results show that $Z = -2,426$; $p < 0.015$ and thus, the results reject the null-hypothesis (See figure 6).

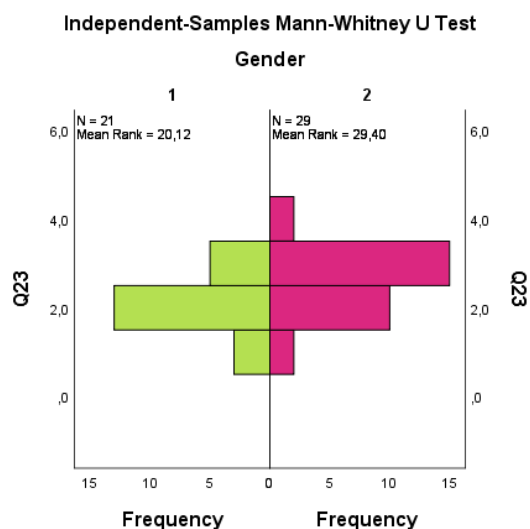


Figure 6 Men do not seem to think that the U.S. influence is bad for South Korean culture, whereas majority of the women do not have opinion (neutral).

The questions examining attitudes towards unification with North-Korea are included in influence theme as well, since the US is playing major role in reunification talks. Campbell notes that young South Koreans interests towards unification are declining. She argues that unification does not hold much relevance to university students daily lives any longer. The attitudes have become more antagonistic and ambivalent. (Campbell 2016, 50-54.) However, according to poll conducted by National assembly and unification committee on 2018 for university-aged South Koreans, more than a half (53 %) of the respondents had positive view toward unification, possibly because of Pyeongyang summit on 2018 (Miller 2018). But, in this research attitudes towards unification are not significant, whereas the view about the U.S influence is.

Questions number 33 “I think the US will promote unification for the Korean peninsula” and 38 “I think the US is preventing unification with North Korea” are mutually exclusive questions and the results show that men think that America will promote unification whereas women don’t or once again, do not have opinion. (See graph 6). The results reject the null-hypothesis and suggest, that the hypothesis “Gender has influence on university student’s attitudes towards the U.S.-ROK alliance” is valid. Male students seem to have more positive view about the U.S.-ROK alliance since on Q33 $Z = -4,287$; $p < 0,001$ (See figure 7) and on Q38 $Z = -$

2,763; $p < 0,006$ (See figure 8). Kim and Park's (2005, 260) survey indicates similarly to following results, that most of the university students seems to think that American influence blocks unification. However, the survey does not show gender ratio.

Kim and Yoo (2017, 51) argue based on their survey research, that gender is not statistically significant variable to explain anti-American sentiment among college students. I agree with this argument, but it does not undermine the results of the survey analysis of this thesis. Gender of the university students can have influence on their views about the United States, but not necessarily on their views about anti-Americanism. Won (2005, 306) argues in his study, that female students seem to have more stereotypical perceptions of Americans than male students. This could be explained due lack of contacts with foreigners among female students, since men are in closer contact with Americans during their military service. Also, Seoulites are more likely to have less developed stereotypes due close presence of the U.S. military base.

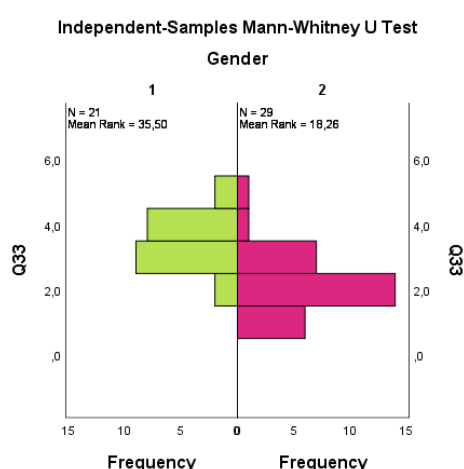


Figure 7 Women do not seem to think that the U.S. will promote unification on Korean peninsula.

The results could be explained with various reasons. It is possible that female students do not regard alliance politics as important as male students do. Female students might be more interested in other topics, and unification is not so important, or at least the US influence on it. Since male students have performed conscription or at least they still have to perform it, alliance themed issues are more relevant to them. Furthermore, the issue is connected to the construction of North Korean threat. South

Koreans continue to see North Korea as a threat to sovereignty, which is why the US help is needed. Because North Korea is a threat, no peaceful unification can be archived without US assistance.

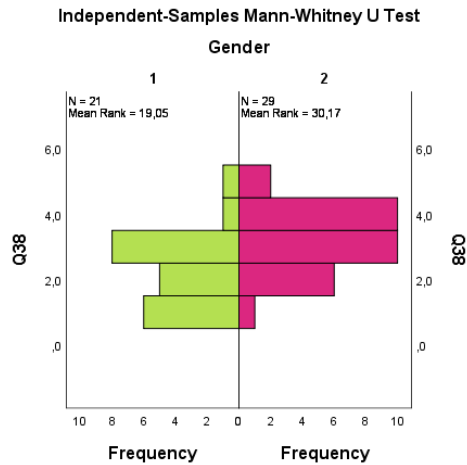


Figure 8 Compared to figure 7, women think that the U.S. is preventing unification. This indicates that the respondents have been honest in their answers.

Chae Haesook (2005) argues in his article *Understanding Anti-Americanism Among South Korean College Students*, that South Korean youth regards North Korea both as a threat and as a pitiful brother. However, this complex image of North Korea is not connected to anti-Americanism in any way. She continues, that South Korean are able to feel both anti-Americanism and anti-North Koreanism at the same time and as his regression analysis²⁰ shows, anti-Americanism among college students is independent of what they think about North Korean military threat. But, if students feel that the US is an obstacle to unification, they also have anti-American feelings. Anti-Americanism in not rejection of the US as an ally, but more like a plea for policy change, especially towards North Korean issue. (Chae 2005, 116-120). Conversely, Kim, Parker and Choi (2006, 438) argue that popularity of North Korea does not have influence on trust in the USA among general public but has significance among college students.²¹ Interestingly, both results are based on researches concluded on year 2004, which indicates that even with nation-wide results different outcomes are possible.

²⁰ Analysis based on survey research that took place during the last half of May, 2004 (Chae 2005, 112).

²¹ Based on research by Kim, Myongsob and Choi, Jun Young (2004). "Can We Trust America?: An Empirical Analysis of Anti-Americanism in South Korea." Paper presented at the Northeastern Political Science Association meetings, Boston. (Myongsob, Parker & Choi 2006, 438).

In the more recent article, Chae (2010) argues, that there is strong support for the alliance among South Korean public, even among those that have anti-American feelings. Thus, negative attitudes towards US influence on unification are not result of anti-Americanism, but of something else. She points out, that political ideology influences on how South Korean public feel about the alliance. (Chae 2010, 493). Furthermore, the cross tabulation of the survey results shows (See figure 9) that female participants hold more left-wing ideology (N=10) than male participants, who seem to hold more right-wing ideology (N=13). Female university students relate also more on the centrists (N=11). Thus, the results of Q33 and Q38 could be explained by ideology as well.

Gender * Ideology Crosstabulation

Count

		Ideology					
		Leftist	Central-left	Centrist	Central-right	Right	Total
Gender	Male	0	2	6	7	6	21
	Female	6	4	11	7	1	29
Total		6	6	17	14	7	50

Figure 9 Ten left-wingers are female, whereas only two are men. Female also consider themselves more as centrists (N=11).

Finally, current president Moon Jae-in has paid more attention to inter-Korean relations. Moon administration is known to have various figures who were members of anti-American, pro-Korea independence movement by leftist students during the 1980's. They used to emphasize inter-Korean relations over US alliance and were tolerant towards nuclear threats. (Nam 2019, 62). No wonder, that Moon administration has taken more cooperative stance with the North, which could influence on student's view about the US. Maybe after all, the US is not needed that eminently. Moon's administration resembles Kim Dae-Jung's Sunshine policy, which implemented more "independent way" approach to US along with engagement policy (Shin & Izatt 2011, 1130-31).

“Moonshine”²² policy seems to emphasize South Korea as independent actor in inter-Korean relations, who is not dependent of the American policy. This change of policy may have influenced university student’s views, who seem to regard South Korea as independent actor. According to Shin (2006, 179) younger generation possesses greater self-confidence and pride of their nation and redefine their identity by repositioning themselves opposite to North Korea and the USA. Perhaps, the results of the survey indicate, that university students cultivate ethnic nationalism by opposing US influence and sympathizing with the North-Korea. However, it’s all because of self-interest of a self-reliant country.

As for gender, H1 remains accurate. Gender seems to have more influence on university student’s views about the US than expected. Among the all other variables, gender divided the results most evidently, and statistical analysis with Mann-Whitney test showed that probability p was often less than 0,05, which indicates that results are valid and significant. Ideology, however, plays a lot of importance among gender, which will be analyzed next.

4.1.2 Ideology

Generational gap is not the only division that exists in contemporary South Korean society. The country is also divided into two prevailing political ideologies, progressives and conservatives. Chae (2010) disputes that current South Korean political sphere was born after the Korean War (1950-53) and democratization movement on the 1980’s after conservative military regime started to collapse. Since the Korean War, anti-communist ideas have shaped conservative’s minds whereas the US has been crucial for safety issues. Conversely, progressives began to think that the US is oppressing South Korea and inter-Korean alliance would be much more important than alliance with the US. Till this day, similar ideas exist. But, there is also a middle ground between left and right wings, namely centrists, that are often forgotten. She continues, that large portion of the respondents often refer themselves as centrist, but literature only pays attention to conservatives and progressives. Centrists opinions do not differ much from conservatives since they consider North-Korea as a threat. However, they do not have urge to strengthen the U.S.-ROK

²² Moonshine policy refers to Kim Dae-Jung’s “Sunshine Policy” and is used because of the similarities that both of the policies hold.

alliance like conservatives do, hence they identify with progressive's ideology as well. (Chae 2010, 494, 499-500.)

One would think that conservatives are more nationalistic than progressive liberals, but in South Korea, it is the other way around. Hahm (2005b) argues, that for progressives, leftist-nationalism should have been guiding ideology after Korean War. Progressives base their ideology on independence movement from 1920's, when leftist-nationalist were fighting for Korea's independence against colonial Japan. Thus, leftist-nationalist were anti-colonial and because Japan was highly capitalistic on colonial period, they were also anti-capitalistic. After Korean War, they also naturally became anti-American. This heritage is still present with progressive ideology. He continues, that leftist nationalist today appropriate nationalism based on pride of industrialization and democratization, which appeals for younger citizens too. (Hahm 2005b, 59-69.) Thus, progressives still today engage with ethnic nationalism, which is apparent on current policies as well. But, as Chae (2010, 500) notes, progressives have constructed new rationale, that may be nationalistic but at the same time does not reject the importance of the U.S.-ROK alliance like earlier progressives did.

The analysis indicates unpredictably, that ideology has significance on how university students feel about the U.S.-ROK alliance and the US role in the World. Thus, H2 is valid. But, surprisingly, ideology did not have as much influence as thought beforehand. On comparison, null-hypothesis was rejected among seventeen different questions when gender variable was applied, whereas ideology affected significantly only to ten questions. Perhaps ideology does not have so much effect after all.

The questions that had highest p value were Q3 "I think the US is most important partner for South Korea" ($\chi^2(2) = 16,18$; $p < 0,003$, See figure 10) and Q35 "I think that the U.S. respect other countries as democracy" ($\chi^2(2) = 17,81$; $p < 0,001$, See figure 11). Thus, these results are statistically significant. However, the results were to be expected, since according to literature, political ideology effects on how South Koreans perceive the U.S. role in the World and especially how they perceive the U.S.-ROK alliance. But, it seems that political views of Yonsei university students

have more impact on the US role in the World than to alliance questions. As Chae (2010, 500) argues, South Korean youth is possibly becoming less ideological and more pragmatic on their views regarding the alliance. But, as the results of statistical analysis indicate, ideology has considerably lot importance when South Koreans share their views about the US world politics.

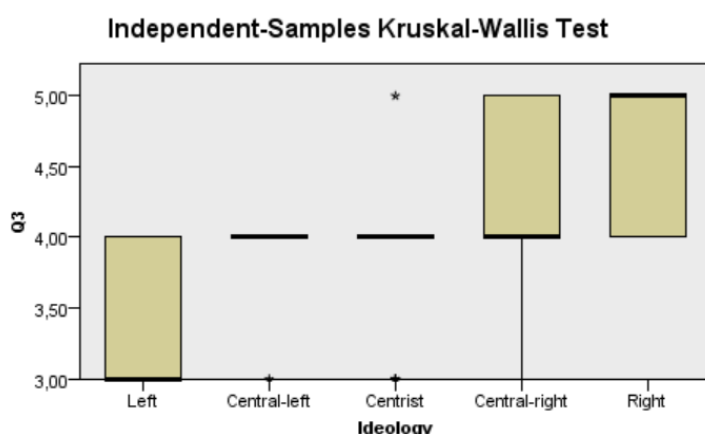


Figure 10 Leftist do not think that the U.S. is most important partner for South Korea.

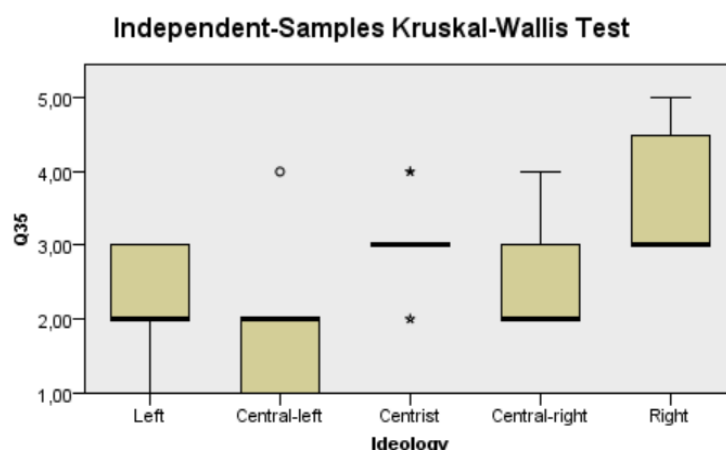


Figure 11 Again, division between right-wing and left-wing is evident. Right wingers think that the U.S. respects human rights and democracy, whereas leftist do not.

Pairwise comparison of Q35 shows (See figure 12), that central-leftist differ significantly from right-wing university students on their views about the US role in the World, since comparison between right-wing – central left is $Z = -3,283$; $p < 0,01$.

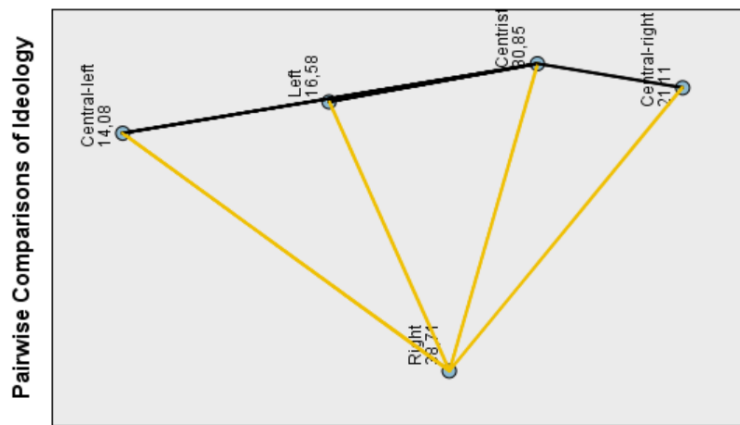


Figure 12 Right wing is ideologically farthest from central-left on their perception of the U.S. role in the World.

Furthermore, significant difference between left and right exists, in which case $Z = -2,950$; $p < 0,032$. Interestingly, even central-right and right-wing comparison indicate slight significance, since $Z = -2,821$; $p < 0,048$, but this could be explained due nature of the question, which is moderately personal.

Chae (2010) notes, that younger generation tends to be more progressive than older generation, which is naturally one cause of generational gap. However, the results indicate that most of the younger generation identify themselves as centrists, which constitutes a large majority of the participants in the survey. Older generation seems to be more ideologically oriented and younger generation is not so progressive as assumed. Thus, age does not seem to determine ideological orientation among centrist and progressives, whereas older generation is undoubtedly conservative-centrist. (Chae 2010, 497.)

It seems that 386 generation was more progressive than generation born in 1980's 90's, when all of the participants of the survey of this thesis were also born. Are the younger generations ideologically more neutral than previous generations? As noted

before, even progressives today engage to new, more rational approach towards the US. The most important issue is reconciliation with North-Korea along with national security. Alliance issue is not major theme for progressives any longer as long as it remains its status quo and after possible unification US military would gradually withdraw. Similarly, it seems that compared to left-right wing, centrist pay more attention to different things, such as Chinese influence (Ibid., 499.)

Is this growing popularity of the centrist political ideology only normal reaction to current World politics, since the World is no longer divided in the Cold War-like polarization between socialism (left) and capitalism (right). Alternatively, is growing number of Korean centrists indicating that South Koreans do not want to strengthen the alliance like conservatives nor they want to reconcile with the North like progressives do. Centrists ideology seems to be the ideology of new, self-assured South Korean youth, that is neither liberal nor conservative but something in between.

According to Campbell (2016), South Korean university students are not really interested about unification, but more about self-related issues such as employment and campus politics. She notes, that student movements are not so devoted to wider social and political issues, but more of personal issues because the South Korean society has become ultra-competitive and even university degree from elite university like Yonsei does not guarantee good job or employment. She concludes that isispdæ has adopted new nationalism and identity that serves, protects and speaks for their interests, that is largely influenced by neo-liberalism like South Korean society overall is. (Campbell 2016, 151-154.) Overall, South Korean university students seem to put themselves first, and societal issues second. Thus, highly ideological political parties such as leftist are not so popular among the youth anymore. Maybe centrist-ideology appeals to many young South Koreans, since it is not so heavily ideologically orientated and gives more space for personal issues.

Ahmad and Eun (2012) assert similarly. They argue that political activity of “2030” generation is more cultural, individualistic and pragmatic than 386 generation who were politically more active and ideologically driven. University students today are politically driven by selective events, not by their political beliefs. They argue, that young generation perceives the U.S.-ROK alliance as unequal, and this is one major

cause behind anti-American sentiment, because 2030s have enough confidence to demand equal partnership. (Ahmad & Eun 2012, 449-451.) It seems, that many scholars have complementary view about contemporary South Korean university student's ideological views. They exist, but not so significantly as previous generations, that were more ideologically oriented. The new generation is individualistic and logical, that expresses political views on the online world more preferably than protesting on the streets unless it's necessary. The new generation slants on the center on ideological sphere, excluding some radical leftist and extreme rightists. Furthermore, their attitude towards the US is not thoroughly dependent of their political ideology. Other issues have weight as well.

Ideological anti-Americanism has had its days. During the Cold War, ideological issues were more important than today. Jhee (2008, 312; 316) claims, that ideological background does not seem to have statistically significant influence on South Korean's perceptions of the US nor to voter's electoral choices. Could it be that the importance of ideological background is exaggerated? The results of the analysis indicate similarly. Although the H2 is true and ideology has significant influence on perceptions of the U.S.-ROK alliance and the US role in the World, impact was expected to be more substantial. Unlike Daniel Bell's predicted on his influential book *The End of Ideology* (1960) nationalism has not faced its downfall but surged as one of the most popular ideologies in the global World. Shin (2006, 216) notes that South Korea has used globalization to promote nationalistic agenda, not to strengthen transnationalism. South Korean government has also systematically taken advantage of globalization by employing native English-speaking teachers to South Korea and sending students to study abroad, so that future South Koreans are global, English skilled and going to make South Korea more than shrimp between the whales.

4.1.3 Foreign experience and English skill

University students in elite-universities have many opportunities to visit foreign countries such as the US or Canada via exchange period or internship or other school-related event. Studying abroad has been ongoing trend in South Korea in the

21st century among many university students.²³ Naturally, this gives students wider perspective about different cultures. However, Won (2005, 303) argues that South Korean student's direct experiences with foreign countries (the US) can either assume pro-American or anti-American feelings. Thus, cultural exchange does not necessarily cultivate positive image of the foreign country but conversely might bolster critical attitudes as well. Furthermore, it seems that foreign experience does not influence on participants ideology, so those who have had foreign experience are from various ideological backgrounds.

Kim and Yoo (2017) argue in their article based on their survey results, that East-Asian students who spend more time studying English have more positive view about the United States. This is so called cognitive-orientation hypothesis, which means that students who have closer contacts and better information about foreign country such as the U.S, hold more positive view about the country as well. English language ability influences on the perceptions because those who understand English better, are more like to follow American news and other media more than those who don't know English so well. They claim, that those skilled in English also follow American trends more often and thus perceive the society and culture more positively. They continue with another assumption called cultural-cleavage hypothesis, which means that those countries, that perceive the US very different from their own country (like Islamic countries) are more likely anti-American. This is one major cause for anti-Americanism in East-Asia as well, since Confucian values are remarkably different from western values. Thus, those who hold stereotypes of the US for example are more likely to hold anti-American sentiment than those who do not or in other words, general perception matters extensively. (Kim & Yoo 2017, 46-51.) But, results can be multidimensional and dependent of various different factors.

Statistical analysis of the survey about anti-Americanism among Yonsei university students show, that variables foreign experience and English skill cause significant difference to some extent. Hypothesis 3 assumes that foreign experience and English skill have effect on university student's perceptions of the American culture and

²³ Over 220,000 university students overseas to study in 2014 (Chosun Ilbo 2014).

society. The results indicate, that H3 is accurate. As for foreign experience, Q16 “I think American popular culture and products are good” (See figure 13) and Q28 “I think that the US is morally corrupt” (See figure 14) hold statistically significant results. Statistical test by Mann-Whitney show, that results for Q16 are $Z = -2,279$; $p < 0,023$ and for Q28 $Z = -1,961$; $p < 0,05$.

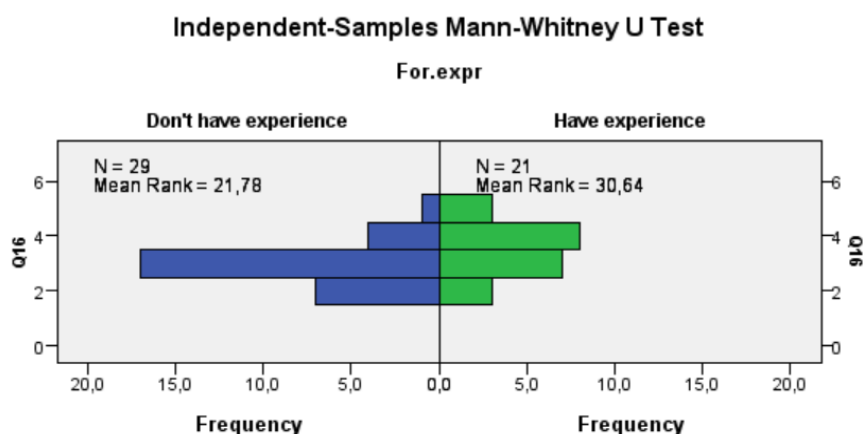


Figure 13 Those who had foreign experience were more likely to think that American popular culture and products are good. However, some disagreed as well.

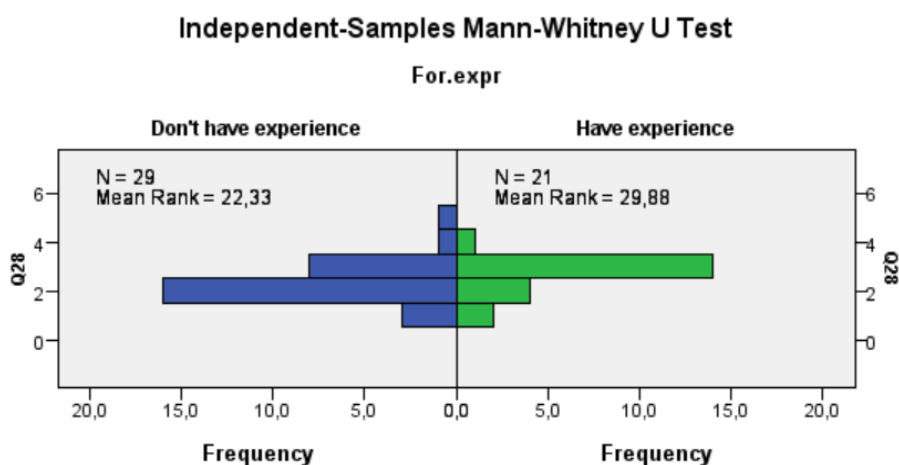


Figure 14 Interestingly, those who did not have foreign experience did not think that the U.S. is morally corrupt. Those who had were more neutral.

It seems that foreign experience has positive influence on how people see the US culture (Q16), but as for US values, foreign influence does not really matter. In fact, students who have foreign experience seem to perceive American values more negatively than those who do not have experience. For example, those who don't

have experience disagree more on the Q28. Apparently, foreign experience does not guarantee positive outlook of the U.S. society but does so with the U.S. culture. Maybe some students have had negative experiences during their foreign experiences, which may explain these results. Furthermore, interestingly eight participants (N=8) are native speakers and naturally have foreign experience, but they correlate on their answers with rest of the participants, who have foreign experience. Six native speakers answered neutrally to the Q28, which indicates that possible Korean Americans hold their Korean nationality on more nationalistic terms than their American nationality.

As for English skill, two questions showed statistically significant results. Both questions were related to American values. Joseph Nye (2004) argues that social interaction with the United States foster socialization into the US values and goals and thus decreases anti-American feelings (Kim & Yoo 2017, 56). This argument seems to be accurate among Yonsei university students as well. The results of Kruskal-Wallis test indicate, that the better English skill respondent has, the more positive perception of the U.S. values one has. Question 17 “I think spread of American ideas and customs is good” (See figure 15) and Q21 “I think that the US values are good” (See figure 16) reject the null-hypothesis, since Q17: $\chi^2(2) = 10,02$; $p < 0,018$ and Q21: $\chi^2(2) = 10,72$; $p < 0,013$.

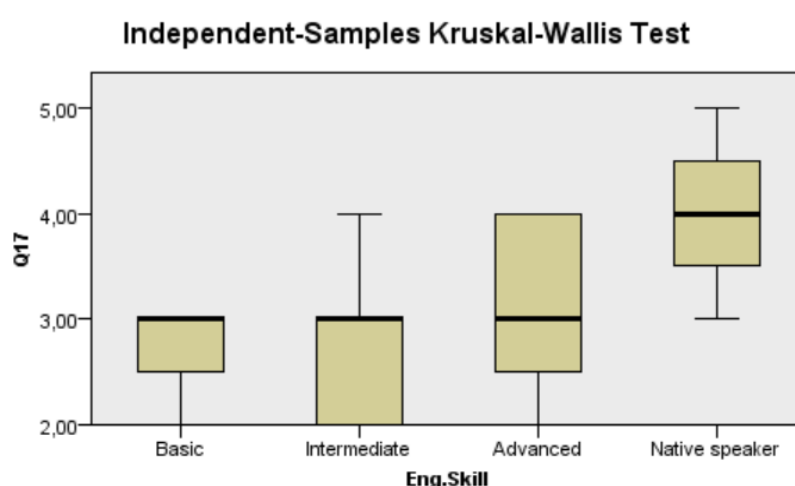


Figure 15 The better English skill student has, the more likely they like American ideas and customs.

Thus, it seems that the more students have knowledge of the U.S. via English skill, the less prejudiced they are. English skill seems to break the wall of ignorance and make students more open-minded. However, the reasons for studying English in South Korea are rarely because of gaining cultural knowledge. Campbell (2016) argues, that young people want to learn English because South Korea needs English speakers to succeed in competitive international environment, since English skill is one of the key attributions of cosmopolitan. Because degree from elite-university does not necessarily guarantee a job, advanced English skill increases opportunities for better life. Furthermore, individual success is linked to success of South Korea, which naturally is connected to sense of nationalism. (Campbell 2016, 89-91.)

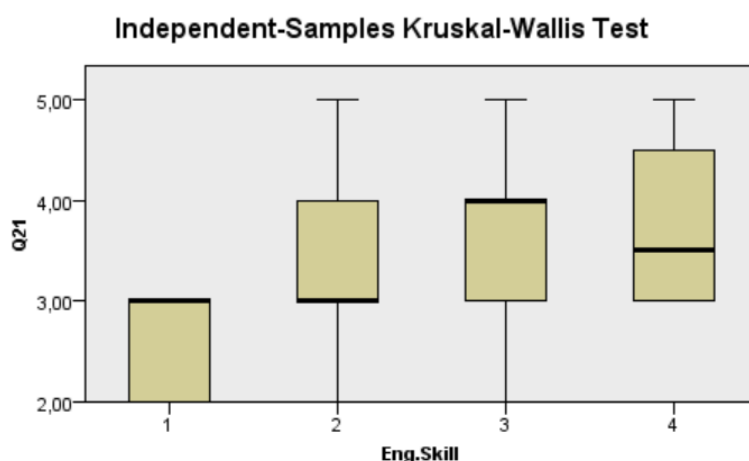


Figure 16 Students with basic English skill do not regard the U.S. values as good, but there is no significant difference between intermediate and advanced level speakers either compared to basic.

The results of the survey correlate with other scholars' survey results. Kim (2014) claims that even though students might think that American culture is very different from South Korean culture, they do not see American culture on negative sight. Thus, American culture and society do not seem to effect on anti-American sentiment that notably (Kim 2014, 220). For example, 72 % (N=36) of the respondents of the Yonsei thought that South Korean culture is different than American, but only 20 % (N=10) thought American culture is bad, majority (48 %, N=24)) thought neutrally of it.

Go (2014) corresponds similarly. He notes, that the US culture may not be so popular in South Korea due enormous popularity of Hallyu, but this should not be interpreted as a form of cultural antipathy or source of anti-Americanism, since after all, South Korea is highly westernized society. South Korea only does not need to look American popular culture as exclusive source of entertainment anymore because their own culture is as competitive. (Go 2014, 73-74.) However, the appreciation of US pop culture naturally increases trust to the US since American popular culture introduces western values to its viewers, who adapt these values into their lives. Since K-pop idols have taken place of the Hollywood in the 21st century, South Koreans are not influenced by American culture that much any longer, and negative attitudes towards America are more common than before. (Kim, Parker & Choi 2006, 432, 437.)

As Kim (2014, 220) concludes, individual's overall attitudes towards the US culture and society fail to have significant influence on anti-Americanism in his survey. Similarly, Kim & Park (2015) argue, that university students seem to have very mixed view about the US society, which is at the same time perceived as advanced and exclusionary. University students seem to admire but also dislike the U.S. As for American people, university students had similar perceptions, seeing them as open-minded but selfish at the same time. They note that the greater knowledge the participant had, the better image of the US society and people they had. (Kim & Park 2015, 256-258.) It seems that Nye's (2004) arguments about socialization are valid.

Overall, scholars seem to agree that those who like American popular culture do not have anti-American feelings as much as those who do not like the US culture, but this does not necessarily mean that dislike of the American culture is major source of anti-American sentiment. Nevertheless, disliking might support the birth of anti-Americanism. K. Moon (2012) disputes, that if rejection of the spread of the US culture is combined with anti-Americanism and nationalist sentiment, the entire World in the early 21st century was anti-American. She argues that even though most people view export of American ideas and customs as bad thing, they are not necessarily anti-American. Thus, it is hard to understand what nationalism means and how it works towards outside forces. (K. Moon 2012, 20; 21.) Due the complex and elusive nature of South Korean nationalism, definition is even more difficult.

Maybe young South Koreans attitudes towards the US culture and society are nationalistic, but not in similar way like previous generations. K. Moon (2012) argues that South Korean youth are cosmopolitan and pragmatic, which was never available for their parents. The younger generation has developed new consciousness of national sovereignty and political expression, which embraces universal values like peace and multiculturalism (K. Moon 2012, 57-59.) South Korean university students are proud of their country, maybe having the sense of ethnic nationalism, but at the same time, they are not building their political views solely on nationalistic terms, because in the Global world it does not benefit the country much. *Isipdae* might not like US culture and society that much personally, but nonetheless, they have adopted western values and culture in their own lives though popular culture, exchange student periods and English learning. As Bong & Moon (2007, 100) comply, the whole South Korean society has accepted universal values embodied to the American culture and system and thus anti-American sentiment is more related to other issues than culture and society. Personal perceptions have importance, but not significantly.

The results of statistical analysis offer a lot of information about general perceptions about the US. However, what university students really think and what issues are brought up in open-questions section, are to be analyzed next with thematic analysis.

4.2 THEMATIC ANALYSIS OF OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONS

Young South Koreans seem to be highly practical in everything what they do. They have adopted new consciousness of South Korean identity, which is first and foremost efficient and practical. This pragmatism is not solely explained by Neo-Confucian heritage, but western influence is evident. Young university students embrace the values of democracy, peace and human rights that are considered as universal but are associated with the western Word in many cases. However, university students are not completely blinded by these fairly new values, but also express their critique against them, which is also visible among the Yonsei university students' responses to the survey of this thesis.

Bong and Moon (2007) assert that young South Koreans have dualist approach to the U.S, North Korea and nationalism. For example, they loathe North Korean regime but also feel sympathy towards the North Korean people. Furthermore, they may denounce imperialist conduct of the US but also support American policies so that economical and security alliance with the US is secured. Also, they won't let nationalist nor patriotic agendas affect on their material gains. Young South Koreans seem to distinguish between perception/sensibility and choice/decision and understand the importance of the U.S.-ROK alliance. (Bong & Moon 2007, 89-90.) This kind of practical dualism appears in open-ended questions as well.

After becoming familiar with the data, theoretical thematic analysis was applied to the data. Transcription and translation were done first and then the codes were looked up. Since the method is theoretical thematic analysis, only those words and phrases that are relevant for the theoretical frame and research question were highlighted. The codes that were found include various words that describe feelings and thoughts of the respondents. After this, themes were decided. The themes say something specific about the research question and are often descriptive by nature (Maguire and Delahunt 2017, 3355). Also, if the data is relatively small, doing the coding and process of deciding the themes may overlap. Since only thirty (N=30) Yonsei students answered to open-ended questions, thematic analysis was quite fast and easy to proceed. However, the results did not provide a lot of new information, which is one of the faults of this qualitative part of the survey. Luckily, some students wrote down their thoughts more broadly and thus offer us precious information about university students' thoughts about American culture, the U.S.-ROK alliance and the U.S. influence on South Korean society. The results are discussed next.

Only the questions 43 and 44 were analyzed qualitatively, since questions 45 and 46 did not provide much data to be analyzed due the nature of the questions, which were a lot easier to analyze statistically. Questions 43 and 44 are thematical by nature, but surprisingly offered numerous kinds of answers. Overall, however, the answers had similar ideas behind them, which are connected to the larger context of anti-Americanism and thus to hypothesis of this thesis. There is no separate hypothesis for open-ended questions, since they were first and foremost meant to answer to the

main hypothesis, which assumes that university students have positive view of the US.

The question number 43 asks “What do you think about American culture” and is naturally coined up with the larger theme of the U.S. society and culture. The purpose of this question is to know, what kind of issues students pay attention when they think about American culture. Eventually, some very general themes came up. The codes that were found include words such as “open”, “two-sided”, “funny”, “bossy” and “positive”. After thematic analysis, three major themes were decided, which are related to participants concerns, because majority of the answers indicated, that they were concerned about something. The themes are 1. concerned about nothing (positive outlook), 2. concerned about differences (neutral outlook) and 3. concerned about socio-political issues (worried outlook). Only two participants had negative attitude towards American culture, so that is not included as one of the themes.

As for “positive outlook”, participants had very similar thoughts about American culture. Some described American culture very positively by using sentences “useful and positive” and that “U.S. will lead us to peace and culture affect positively to our culture”. Couple of participants thought that the U.S. is “strong and exemplary country” or “example for developing countries”. Furthermore, multiculturalism and personal freedom were mentioned as positive characteristics. These respondents did not seem to regard American culture in negative manner at all. Not surprisingly, these participants are right-wingers by their ideological background. On contrast, those who had neutral outlook were leaning more on the left-wing or identified themselves as centrists. They thought that American culture is “not good nor bad, our (South Korean) culture is very different” or similarly “The U.S. has been very liberal country for a long time and our (South Korean) culture has hard times to adapt to it”.

Interestingly, the difference between two cultures came up among several answers. This emphasizes that university students like American culture and think positively of it but understand that South Korean culture is very different and is having hard time to adapt to it. Adaption is easy on popular culture’s side because of Americanization of South Korean culture but traditional Confucian culture is facing some problems because of its conservative nature. These thoughts were thought to be

“neutral-themed” in this analysis, because the third theme evidently is concerned about societal issues.

The third theme “worried outlook” was most evident among the participants. Unlike neutral outlook, which concentrates on the fact that the U.S culture is very different and not much can be done to it, these worried outlook participants mention issues that have to take into consideration. For example, discrimination arose to be one of the issues. One participant writes “Two-sided. Looks like (the U.S) is pursuing to freedom but really is discriminative/suppressive and violent.” Another participant writes similarly, that “Ethnic discrimination very serious issue, otherwise (sees) positively”. Furthermore, one participant sees that there are good things in American culture, but discrimination must stop. She says that

Women’s rights should be implemented in Korea. However, mass shootings and discrimination against Asians are huge problems. Americans are very concerned about the rights of African-Americans, but rights of Asian Americans are often not recognized. ---

Consequently, another student writes that:

Sometimes seems it’s (the U.S.) whitewashing. Lot of influence during last century all over the planet.

Han Gil-Soo presents concept of nouveau-riche nationalism, which is related to concept of ethnic nationalism. Nouveau-riche nationalism justifies discrimination by economic means. Because South Korea has become independent, economically powerful country, people who are not South Korean, can be exploited economically, which leads to racial discrimination. (Han Gil-Soo 2016, 21.) Nouveau-riche nationalism is linked to Ha Sang-Bok’s (2012) parallel of “yellow skin, white masks” which argues that during colonial period and Western imperialism, South Koreans adopted idea of colonial being and knowledge (Ha 2012, 531, 533). Thus, South Koreans suffered from racial inferiority complex and conversely started to admire the white race. Now, when South Korea itself has become economically powerful country, they act as “whites” themselves and justify discrimination against Asians and Africans. (Ibid, 535-536.)

This theoretical frame could explain dualist approach towards the U.S as well. It seems that young South Koreans want to be treated as “whites” and pay attention to discrimination of their ethnic race, but at the same time speak lowly of other races. Whether or not this is a question of cultural unawareness or cultural superiority, remains to be debated. Surprisingly, security issue raised concern only among one student. One thought that “I like and respect (the U.S.) but security issue is very serious”. However, responses for the next questions were more concentrated on the security issues.

The themes for Q44 “What do you think about the future of U.S.-ROK alliance” were more complex to decide than for Q43, maybe due to political nature of it. The answers of this question seem to correlate well with Moon & Bong (2017) thoughts about highly pragmatic youth that was referred in the beginning of this chapter. The themes were shaped by the idea of practical youth, which point out that the alliance will 1. change 2. prevail and 3. there is wish for alliance no matter what. These themes overlap but were chosen, because university students answers indicated the feeling that they do not really know what to think about the future of U.S.-ROK alliance.

To the theme are belonging they, who seem to think that the future of the alliance is changing in some way. For example, one of the students thinks that “After unification military side of the alliance will be cancelled (no more needed) but economical side will continue”. Thus, alliance will change or even disappear, but economic alliance will last forever. This indicates heavy trust on the alliance. Many students simply think that “it (alliance) will become unbalanced”, which implies there is belief in substantial change in the future. Some students’ answers indicate the importance of political sphere and mention how alliance will change along with the president and with the current Moon Jae-In administration, but their answers do not reveal, whether or not they think it is good or bad thing, which characterizes many other answers as well. Only one expresses criticism against current government:

Current government is heavily pro Chinese and anti-American. Personally, I would like to have stronger alliance with the USA, but I don’t believe so with our current government. The type of government will decide the shape of U.S.-Korean alliance in the future.

As seen in the quote above, there is hope for the alliance, which is the third theme. For example, one student is cautious about the current status of the alliance but also wishes for the continuity of the U.S.-ROK alliance.

Current alliance is faltering. Removal of troops is concerning. This implies lack of trust to Korean army. There must be a lot of corruption and incompetence according to news. I wish that alliance will remain.

Similarly, one student mentions that “For our country’s developments sake it has to be maintained but equality problem must be solved.” It seems that students are worried about the status of the alliance and after all, want it to be prevailed, maybe not on its current status but on some level. The alliance seems to be crucial for the students, at least the security side of it. After all, the attitudes towards the alliance seem to be very dualistic. Students do not express extremely positive attitude towards it, but they do not criticize it much either. There seems to be validity in the idea of pragmatic youth, who calculates pros and cons of the alliance as well. This correlates with Chae’s (2010, 494) findings that South Koreans seem to correspond for the necessity of alliance, no matter which political ideology one holds. Similarly, Kim (2004, 271) presents the poll (1997) from Yonsei university, in which nearly half of the students answered that they are anti-American but half of the students also thought that the U.S. military presence is necessary and third opposed U.S military presence in their country. Over twenty years later, the situation is rather similar.

The question 45 asks “What do you think about American influence on South Korean society? Mention three major influences.” and thus is connected to the influence theme of the survey. This question offered very similar results, so it seems that South Korean university students have analogous thoughts about how the US influences on their society. The three major influences that were mentioned most often were culture, military and economy. Culture was mentioned most, 18 out of 27 answers mentioned it. Military and economy got same amount of answers, 17 out of 27 each. Nine out of 27 thought that politics (especially foreign policy) is influenced a lot. Interestingly, two students mentioned North-South question and the US role in it.

Also, language was thought to be influenced by English language among two respondents and finally, ideology (liberalism) seemed to be major influence on South Korean society in the minds of four respondents out of 27. One respondent thought

that law has been influenced majorly. Overall, the influence seemed to be more positive than negative, but some respondents had slightly negative tone on their answers, since they thought that the U.S. causes political restraints and limitations to South Korea. Nevertheless, majority seems to think that especially the culture is positively affected and that the U.S. has brought more freedoms in terms of food, fashion, relationship and so on. This implies predominantly positive influence among students' perceptions.

Shin and Choi (2009) argue in their article, that globalization causes a reaction that strengthens, rather than weakens, national consciousness. They conclude, that South Koreans comprehend globalization from instrumentalist view that is influenced by social-Darwinism and adopt globalist attitudes. Furthermore, understanding the means of globalization and globalization related threats strengthen their sense of ethnic nationalism. South Koreans have enhanced their national interest thorough 20th century by adopting instrumentalist acceptance of concepts like civilization, development, modernization and more recently, globalization. (Shin & Choi 2009, 265-266.) With these concepts, South Koreans have provoked and intensified nationalist goals, and it continues still today. American influence that is partly caused by globalization, is thus seen from instrumentalist viewpoint, which explains the positive tone of the answers. South Koreans seem to have accepted the amount of U.S. influence but use it to enhance their own national-instrumentalist intentions. For example, U.S. influence on culture only makes South Korean cultural products more global and thus, more economically productive.

Finally, the last question asks, "Do you think that there is anti-Americanism in South Korea" to actually know, what the university students think. Interestingly, 14 students think that there is anti-Americanism to some extent in South Korea (See figure 17). Some of the answers mentioned that "older people have" or "when South Korea is economically in trouble, anti-Americanism rises" or that "it exists because of North Korean influence". Overall, it seems that young South Korean think that anti-Americanism exists at some level in their society and is fueled by bad economic situation, North Korea and the U.S politics. They acknowledge that anti-Americanism exists. Only six respondents decline the existence. But, it also seems that university students do not want to become characterized with anti-American sentiment, and thus they often mention that some people might have anti-American

sentiment for various reasons, but they personally do not have. Nonetheless, this is only natural reaction since the question overall is very sensitive by nature.

The main hypothesis is verified according to these results. South Korean university students have more positive than negative attitude towards the U.S. But, they acknowledge that anti-Americanism exists in their society and although the results indicate positivity, the amount of neutral answers indicate that students may have two-folded attitude towards America. On the other hand, they like and respect the country but also are cautious about the U.S policies and want to be treated as equals. From the lens of ethnic nationalism, the impact of national consciousness seems to be predominantly one of the main reasons for binary perception of the Land of Liberty. This will be discussed next.

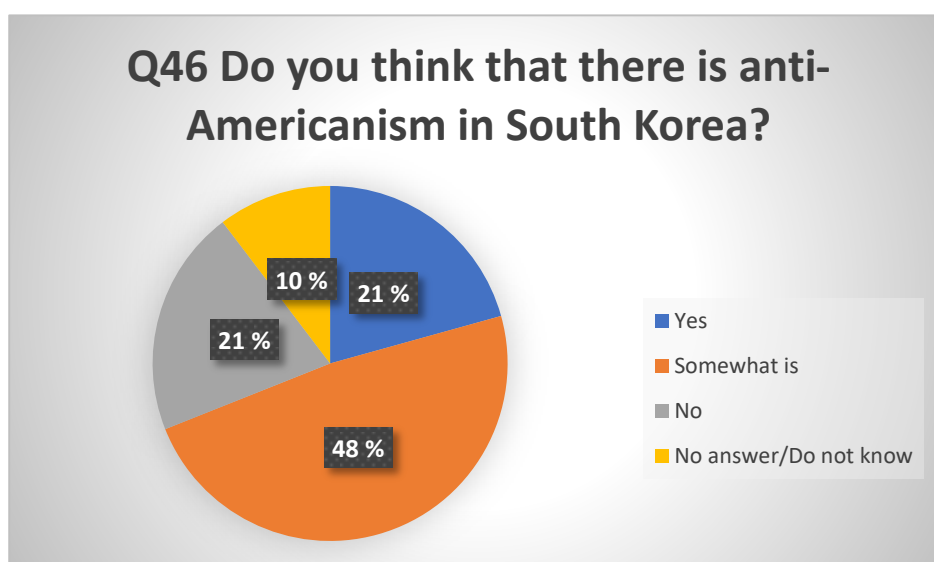


Figure 17 Almost half of the respondents think that anti-Americanism exists in South Korean society to some extent.

5 RESULTS

The land of the morning calm has become one of the most powerful countries during 21st century. Naturally, this has affected to the sense of pride of South Korean people. After major hardships of the past, South Korea has finally become respected country that has a lot to offer for the World. Yet, in a global World, this sense of pride can also become a burden. South Koreans have strong sense of ethnic nationalism, which may become serious obstacle for their development towards global and open country such as their long-time role model, the USA. Thus, the future looks fluctuating.

The results of the analysis provided much more information than imagined beforehand. The statistical method especially was nothing else but successful. However, thematic analysis did not manage to offer as much as information than assumed, but this was simply because of the short nature of the answers that were analyzed. Further, all the answers could not be translated properly, which obviously narrowed down the data. Anyhow, thematic analysis manages to support the results of statistical analysis, which makes the analysis easier to understand and the results more compelling. In this chapter, the results will be discussed and compared to research literature. Also, critique is expressed.

5.1 CORRELATION WITH THEORIES AND RESEARCH LITERATURE

Why do people hate America? A sentence often heard when discussing about anti-Americanism. Next people ask, why South Koreans would hate American then. To be fair, it makes no sense. South Korea is one of the most pro-American countries in the World. The touch of the Uncle Sammy is so evident, that it is almost impossible to think that South Korea has very recent history of anti-American sentiment. What causes this occasional hatred towards the U.S? As explained in the theory part of this

thesis, identity theories and theories of intercultural clashes seek to explain anti-Americanism. In South Korean context, the arguments are even more complex. The results of this thesis speak for itself.

According to results, it seems that South Korean university students have more positive image than negative image of the US, which verifies the hypothesis of this thesis. However, before conducting the survey, I acknowledged that there might be some negative sentiments and critique towards the Land of Freedom, and this assumption also makes sense when looking at the analysis results. Surprisingly, majority of the survey respondents have neither negative nor positive view of the US, but instead neutral. This was utterly unexpected. What does this neutrality indicate, or does it indicate anything?

This question remains to be hard to answer. As Gillham (2000, 26) mentions, this could be because people simply do not have refined opinion or people do not want to express their opinion. On the other hand, centrist ideology could also influence on the amount of neutral responses, since centrists evaluate the US with different set of factors than progressives and conservatives (See Chae 2010). Finally, generational issues could serve as one explanation as well. Study by Oh & Arrington (2007, 333) shows, that amount of neutral answers has grown from 30 % to 60 % between 1990-2004.

Perhaps, majority of the students have both negative and positive feeling towards the US and thus, answer neutrally. This may emphasize both the rationality that young generation possesses, but also the complex duality of their views. Oh & Arrington argue (2007, 332) that since South Koreans perceive the US from multiple dimensions, depending of the issue, they do not necessarily have uniform attitude towards the US and thus, they tend to answer neutrally. To get more information of these internal tensions over the opinions of the United States, more qualitative information is needed.

Nevertheless, according to results, some university students think negatively of the U.S. Certainly, the answer for research question is not that South Korean university students perceive the U.S. solely positively or neutrally. They also perceive the U.S. slightly negatively. Thus, there is some anti-Americanism among university students.

But what makes some students to think negatively or critically of the US? The theoretical framework of this thesis tries to explain anti-Americanism with theories of intercultural conflicts (See Shim, Kim & Martin 2008) and more importantly, concept of ethnic nationalism (See Shin 2006). How considerably do the results of analysis support these theories?

Because of wide-spread Americanization, almost everyone knows something about American culture, but very few Americans know much about other cultures, such as South Korean. This is one of the reasons why intercultural conflicts exist. Lack of knowledge, however, is often a two-way street. According to analysis, it seems that South Korean students do not know that much about the US. Obviously, those who have been on exchange in the US or are Korean-Americans do not suffer from lack of knowledge, but some students do. This can be seen in some open-ended answers, where some respondents think that mostly people are ignorant towards foreign countries, meaning the US in this case.

More importantly, the lack of knowledge can lead to biased intergroup perceptions, which is the second reason for intercultural conflict, is highly visible among open-ended questions especially. For instance, some students think that the US is very different from South Korea and emphasize how American culture is liberal, open and free. This indicates that South Korean students perceive US as very different. However, sense of superiority or inferiority is not detected from the answers. Perhaps students do feel that US is different, but this does not necessarily cause cultural conflict, since young South Koreans are used to American culture and values. But, once again, the tone of the answers seems to be very rational and nonpartisan, so it is hard to interpret what the students really think of the US.

Are the young South Koreans simply accepting Americanization by hiding their sense of superiority, which could lead to conflict if it was evident? Is there hidden sense of nationalistic pride that deals with the U.S. hardheadedly in order to keep U.S.-ROK relations balanced? The answers cannot be interpreted from the results, but theory of cultural conflict offers reasonable explanation. Cultural conflict is highly evident when there is power imbalance, such as in the U.S.-ROK case. Since

American culture and values are so powerful globally, South Korea has no option but to adapt if it wants to remain in good terms with the US and enjoy militarily and economic benefits. This creates ambivalence that is distinct among the results of the survey. It is best to consume American products, support the alliance and adapt to liberal values, but in terms of culture, there is no conformity. This is when Korean ethnic nationalism steps in.

South Koreans are very flexible in many things, but in terms of culture, they will not give in. They do not want to adapt to American culture if Americans do not respect their culture, and since this has been the case since the first encounter of the US and Joseon (Korea), Koreans have developed a sense of cultural pride which still lives strongly in the society. South Koreans may give in for America in many cases, but when Americans are disrespecting their cultural heritage and values, they have to apologize formally from the whole nation. The death of two schoolgirl incident is well known from this, in which South Koreans demanded formal apology from the highest authority (president) because the US was held responsible for the incident. (Shim, Kim & Martin 2008, 141.) Non-apologetic nature of President G. W. Bush triggered nation-wide protests and surfaced anti-American sentiments among people. Because South Koreans' ethnic pride is so strong, they do not tolerate offenses towards their culture and ethnicity, not even from the World police.

Evidently, South Koreans suffer from historic trauma of suppression, and are always ready to fight for their rights to their culture even today. However, there is a possibility that South Koreans start to oppress others instead, when they are fighting for their cultural rights. This leads to fourth assumption, that cultural conflict often involves identity issues, such as emotional frustration and confusion of one's identity. South Koreans have strong ethnic identity, but as mentioned, they have also adopted various cultural norms from Western cultures. This balancing between East and West can easily lead to one's confusion about identity. Who are South Koreans? What is the significance of Confucianism in contemporary South Korea? Because of generational gap, young South Koreans especially are struggling with this issue. Are they global, regional or national? Perhaps, many answers of the survey were neutral because young university students do not really know how to perceive the US anymore. South Korean identity is amidst of confusion.

Results of the analysis support Rozman's (2010) ideas about South Korean identity to some extent. The survey does not reveal what South Korean university students think about history of their nation, but scholars point out that South Koreans have developed pride towards their country and nation which is often related to nationalistic sentiments. Rozman's idea about national humiliation caused by suppressive events of the past explains why South Koreans are so proud about their country. Indeed, Rozman (2010) argues that to be able to develop a shared source of pride that would resolve confusion about national identity, South Koreans must constitute four elements. They have to be proud of Cold War achievements and not only see it through lens of military dictatorship. Secondly, South Koreans should see *hallyu* as indication to cultural vitality, not only through commercial perspective. Thirdly, they should adapt to post-Cold war era by showing generosity towards North and accelerate globalization, or in other words, open up their boundaries. Finally, reconciliation and regional cooperation with Northeast Asian countries remains to be hard, but crucial for South Koreans to come to terms with their past. (Rozman 2010, 79.) When all these are achieved, South Koreans would not have distorted sense of pride of their nation, or identity. Similarly, Ha & Jang (2015, 474) argue that South Koreans have developed sense of pride, that is attributed to their nation, but not on their ethnic identity. This causes distorted identity and unhappiness, which can lead to negative feelings, that may evolve into anti-Americanism.

According to survey by Chung & Choe (2008, 116, 118) 73,8 % of South Koreans are proud of their nationality 73,1 % are proud of their history, but younger generation seems to be less proud than older generations. This contrast could indicate that maybe young South Koreans are more global nowadays and they feel more connection towards other nations as well. Their sense of pride is not blurred by historical events or red-blue lenses Korean glasses. They try to face their past more realistically than older generations. Young generation is proud of their culture and economical success, so it seems that South Korean identity is slowly becoming more coherent and practical. Maybe they have understood Rozman's (2010) points. Above all, young generation is proud of their country, but in different terms than older generation. However, according to research literature and recent news, South Korea still has a long way to come to terms with their history. Until that, South Korean identity continues to develop.

Theories of intercultural conflicts and identities explain the results of this thesis wholesomely. There are general reasons why anti-American sentiment can exist among university students, like confusion of identity of a nation or stereotypes. However, to achieve more uniform picture of anti-Americanism in South Korea, it's useful to look closer on concept of ethnic nationalism. Overall, ethnic nationalism is constantly present in South Korea. It is not a collective illusion, but major feature of Korean society and culture. Anti-Americanism is also a product of ethnic nationalism. But, ethnic nationalism is not only connected to "pure-blooded" Korean race, like in the beginning of 20th century. Today's ethnic nationalism has more complex nature. This nature includes pragmatic thinking that makes sure that South Korea is not ever again humiliated, as it was in the past. To achieve national pride, contributory thinking has developed in the minds of South Korea since the end of Korean War, and cultivated to the current features of ethnic nationalism, that is above all, instrumentalist.

5.2 VERSATILITY OF SOUTH KOREAN UNIVERSITY STUDENTS' ANTI-AMERICANISM

South Koreans have been trying to accept their history with ethnic nationalism by creating sense of pride from the past. Recently, they have also understood that pride of a nation also requires respect from other countries. To achieve this, South Korea has developed World known market economy, as well as commercial popular culture with the help of the U.S. Both have been highly successful, and many countries look up for South Korean culture and society today, and many young South Koreans have started to develop strong sense of national dignity and pride. Young South Koreans are logical, they do not act by emotions. Negative sentiments towards the US are above all critique towards US presence and actions.

Young South Koreans are not blinded by star-striped glasses, but they also know the importance of American presence in their country. They have achieved the level of ethnic nationalism, that knows one's worth, but is also wise enough to play one's cards right, like a real gambler, that does not lose the game with haste or emotions. Pragmatism is in the core of new South Korean anti-Americanism. What differentiates pragmatic critique towards the U.S. from anti-Americanism is namely

ethnic nationalism, and thus it is such a crucial concept to understand, when talking about South Korea.

The problem of the survey is, that it does not reveal nationalistic emotions too much and thus, it remains unsure if the students have only criticized the US or actually felt some deeper hatred or anger. This reveals disadvantages of quantitative survey research, since emotions cannot be so evidently analyzed. Some emotions can be observed from open-ended questions, but since there aren't many of answers that really express emotions, data remains low. Although statistical survey research manages to create generalizations from the data, it lacks the understanding of the people themselves, which is why humanities do not use quantitative methods that often. Nevertheless, statistical data is valuable itself because of its ability to generalize not only from sample but from the whole society. Since results of the statistical analysis are significant and null-hypothesis rejected among various cases, the analysis has managed to create research results, that can be generalized and verified. This is the beauty of statistical analysis and one of the reasons why I chose to conduct quantitative analysis instead of qualitative. To really know what South Korean university students think about anti-Americanism and even better, to get significant results.

As expected, ideology did have influence on respondents' answers. This is also evident among many other surveys and majority of the scholars who have researched anti-Americanism emphasize that ideological background has significant influence on how people think of the U.S, especially in South Korea. What was interesting is that many students regard themselves as centrists, and as Chae (2010) has argued, centrists have also very unique approach to America. It could be argued that the centrists are most pragmatic in their approach towards the Uncle Sammy, and since they represent large portion of the population, most of the South Koreans have pragmatic approach towards the U.S. Compared to 386 generation, who were ideologically and emotionally anti-American and leaned more to left on political spectrum, centrist seem to have different approach. It would be interesting to do more research about how different ideological background and namely centrists, who are often ignored, think of the US.

University students often have encounters with different cultures more than others, because South Korea is accepting more and more foreign students to its universities and sending South Koreans abroad vice versa. According to results, the students who have foreign experience seem to think more negatively of the U.S. society. One would think that the more person has contact with other cultures, the more positive outlook one has about the society and culture. In case of South Korea, however, this does not seem to be accurate, at least on how they perceive American society and values. The research literature offers many reasons for this. Perhaps, those who have foreign experience do not have positive stereotypes of the US society unlike those, who base their knowledge of the US on media, books and casual encounters. Foreign experience could make people think more critically, since they are able to see larger context. Also, foreign experience can make people think on more nationalistic terms, when they see that grass is not greener on the other side. Alternatively, people simply have their own preferences about the US and it has nothing to do with anti-American sentiments.

Overall, cultural and societal issues serve rarely as base for anti-American sentiments in South Korean context because of American influence on their society, compared to the influence of Islamic countries for example. What is notable result of the research is that South Koreans do not seem to worship American culture and society, which implies that they have strong national identity. This might not be the case with Japan, but as for US, South Koreans have very dynamic approach. They respect American culture but also prefer their own cultural traditions. Possibly, South Koreans feel that the US is like a mentor to them, that protects and serves as an example for them, but that is all. After South Korea is strong again, it does not need the mentor anymore. But knowing the US, it is not ready to renounce its allies that easily.

The major research result of this thesis is the importance of gender on student's perception about the alliance, and its possible connection to military service. What are the reasons that female students perceive the U.S.-ROK alliance on more negative terms than male students? Could it be because of ideology or perhaps because of mandatory military service? On the other hand, it could be connected to some larger issue such as patriarchal society and masculinity as well. South Korea is

known to be highly patriarchal country still today. Latest K-pop sex scandals have exposed the problem of toxic masculinity in South Korean society, which involves violence, dominance and depreciation of women (Kwon, Jeong and Griffiths 2019). Toxic masculinity lives deep in the society and is reproduced in the military. Military creates “real men” that are courageous, well-bodied and nationalistic protectors of the realm (S. Moon 2005b, 50.) This national duty does not approve any negative perceptions of the U.S.-ROK alliance. U.S.-ROK alliance is important part of the South Korean military and thus to be protected by all means.

All over the World, men are often the ones that speak for armed forces, whereas women tend to be more peaceful. This is a production of militarized societies and cultures all over the World, which emphasizes nationalistic duty of men that is to protect the nation. Unfortunately, militarized masculinity, that militarized societies produce, does not give a chance to peaceful thoughts nor to divergent masculinities. Toxic masculinity suppresses women as well as stimulates war, not peace or reconciliation. South Korean society still has a long way to get rid of toxic masculinity and conscription, but it is unlikely that this would happen anytime soon. However, there has also been slight wind of change. Women have started to rebel against pressures to look perfect with “escape the corset movement” (Bicker 2018.) After all, big things become in small packages.

Overall, the results offer interesting data about university students’ attitudes towards the US. Compared to earlier studies about anti-Americanism among South Korean students, the results of the analysis are very similar. The results correlate with earlier academic research to large extent, and thus not much new information was acquired. But, some results remain offer interesting new perspective to anti-American sentiment in South Korea. Some people are clearly anti-American, some remain very neutral for various of reasons and some are highly pro-American. Thus, anti-Americanism in South Korea seems to be very multidimensional and not easy to characterize.

The results are quite uniform with other surveys done to university students, which implies certain validity. But, some results of statistical analysis can be misleading, since the survey is analyzing people after all. It is impossible to know, if the respondents were honest in their answers or not, and it remains unknown whether

they gave much thought to answers. As mentioned before, people have the habit to answer more positive-neutrally than negatively, which also has impact on the answers. Thus, qualitative interview would offer much more information and reliability, but qualitative interview has its own disadvantages as well. I don't think, that my own personal perceptions had much influence on the results, since I do not really have strong opinion about the U.S. or South Korea. Researcher can never be objective, but with this research, I feel that I was able to get rid of most of my subjectivity and step on the boots of an observer. This could be one of the advantages of this research.

In conclusion, the survey offered a lot of information about Yonsei university students' perceptions of the U.S, which was the goal of the survey after all. New perspectives to the phenomenon were acquired and the theory manages to support the evidence to large extent. And after all I was able to learn how to conduct a survey research, learned to communicate in Korean and even managed to understand some basics of statistical analysis and use of SPSS. After all, I understand the complexity of South Korean anti-Americanism lot better. Causes behind it are so diverse, that it is difficult to research, especially when there is no clear anti-American sentiment. The amount of neutral answers also emphasizes, that South Korean do not really know what to think of the U.S, or simply do not care. This neutrality can turn to pro-Americanism or anti-Americanism any day. The causes are diverse, but ethnic nationalism is one thing that all the causes seem to have in common, not to mention that it's also the characteristic that unites South Koreans as one.

6 CONCLUSION

It was always clear to me, that this thesis discusses contemporary South Korean society since I have been interested of it since I was in high-school. Also, because peace-movements and conflict prevention are great interests on mine, it felt natural to do something related to these issues. Fortunately, my professor Andrew Logie suggested something even more interesting as the research topic of this thesis, namely anti-Americanism. Anti-Americanism as a phenomenon was not completely new to me, since I had done some research of it when I was still at high school and always paid attention it on my travels in Asia. Finally, when I was accepted to exchange program, the topic was confirmed. However, I knew that I wanted to do more than literature review. I wanted to achieve concrete results. And, one day, I asked my brother whether he thought it is a good idea to conduct a survey while I am studying in South Korea, and he didn't say yes, he said I have to do it. That is when I was certain how what I want to research on my thesis, and how.

The goal of this thesis was to achieve statistical information of how South Korean university students think of the United States to understand, what is the current status of anti-American sentiment in South Korea. To accomplish this, literature about anti-American sentiment were collected. Eventually, it became clear that anti-Americanism is closely connected to nationalism, namely ethnic nationalism in South Korean context. Scholars such as Gi-Wook Shin, Emma Campbell, Katharine H.S. Moon became familiar shortly. Fortunately, many articles that had researched university students' attitudes in 21st century South Korean society were found, so that some comparison could be done. Yonsei university library offered priceless access to many books and articles, which otherwise might not have been found. Above all, Yonsei served as research field for the survey. Online survey tools were tested, and some surveys distributed online, but the answers remained low. Thus, if I would not have been accepted to exchange program, it is very unlikely that the survey would have been ever finished.

After the survey answers were collected and theoretical framework determined it was time to get more familiar with the method. Thematic analysis for open-ended questions felt most convenient and thus was applied on them after translation. But the method for fixed questions turned out to be a hard nut to crack. It was always

clear that statistical analysis was the main method, but not much thought was given to statistics per se. Eventually, this caused some difficulties and took a while to get familiar to the World of statistics. After days of struggling with which statistical test to choose and almost giving up with the whole analysis, the World of statistics suddenly opened up, and the analysis was ready to be done. The analysis part was clear from the beginning, because the statistical test had shown significant results among following variables: Gender, ideology, English skill and foreign experience. These themes were analyzed, and results of statistical tests presented.

Unfortunately, not much information was acquired from open-ended questions, partly because too much emphasis was given to fixed questions and quantitative analysis, but also because there was not much data to be analyzed. Most of the answers were very short, which makes it hard for deeper analysis. This is the one major downside of this thesis, but perhaps because I was too concentrated on fixed questions and statistical data, blind eye was turned on qualitative analysis. But, since research is often more understandable when there are actual quotes by the people themselves, analysis of the open-ended questions was included in this thesis. The research plan did not work out completely, but at least, many lessons were learned.

Otherwise, the analysis managed to achieve its goal. Statistical data of university students' opinions of the U.S. was acquired, and some results signify that they are significant. This is way more than ever imagined. But what do the results really mean? Do they have any signification? The most significant results are amidst gender and the difference between male and female respondents' views. Ideology, on contrast, implied significant results as well but is already broadly researched among the scholars. Thus, it does not offer unexpected results. Similarly, the results of English skill and foreign experience were largely expected. However, as for gender, although the H1 (hypothesis) assumed, that the gender has influence on how students perceive the U.S., the outcome was never thought to be this prominent. Since the variable gender rejects the null-hypothesis ($p=0,05$) among seventeen (17/42) different questions, it means that gender has significance among 40% of the questions. The beauty of statistics is that it does not easily lie. Thus, the argument of this thesis is that South Korean women think notably differently than men about the

U.S.-ROK alliance and American influence to South Korea. However, one cannot argue that women are necessarily anti-American, because of the complex nature of it.

The major deficiency of the analysis is that it does not reveal why women think so differently about the alliance. Could it be because they are simply not interested, or is the influence of military service so extensive to men, that the results of women can also be explained with it too? Not much information about the topic was found, which makes it very difficult to analyze as well, and the questions remain open. If I was to talk better Korean, the possibilities would be better. Some articles stated that gender does not have significant influence on anti-American sentiment, which makes it even more interesting compared to results of this thesis. The results of gender difference were based mostly on researches of S. Moon, who is one of the major South Korean scholars, and has done research about South Korean militarized masculinity, but not about anti-Americanism. Also, since the South Korean society is currently under various changes, such as rise of feminism and debate about conscious objectors, this topic would be even more fruitful for future research. Maybe the gender difference is caused by some other issues, but for that, more comprehensive understanding and research is required.

This research could be easily continued in the future, since this thesis is unable to answer why gender causes such difference between South Korean women and men. Thus, the research question already exists, and one only needs to find more literature and conduct more in-dept research such as qualitative interview. But there are other possibilities as well. Since I am doing a double graduate, the other one being of political history, I could easily use the knowledge acquired from this thesis and benefit it in the other thesis. The thesis could discuss about anti-Americanism in Japan, on more historical context of course. Furthermore, if I wanted to get more deeper into this issue, Japan-Korean relations and complexity of their identities could be an interesting path as well. With the knowledge acquired by doing this thesis, many doors are open.

South Korean seems to have highly complex attitude towards the United States. This thesis agrees with other scholars that especially young generation tends to perceive the U.S. very practically unlike previous generations. Furthermore, it seems that South Koreans have difficult identity complex, caused by historical events and

division of Korean peninsula. They do not seem to know where they belong, or who to blame on their situation. Japan remains to be the all-time enemy for them, but in 21st century, sudden anti-American sentiments imply that South Korean's perceptions of the U.S. are not as positive as one would easily think. The reason why South Korea remains to be interesting country to research is that it has gone through such a rapid industrialization and democratization and is constantly changing. Also, South Korean foreign policy is changing with the president and pro-Americanism and Anti-Americanism change as vividly. But what causes this, is not explained so easily. However, one thing always stays the same. The notion of ethnic Korean race, the uniqueness of it and Confucian values, that are so strong that even demonstrations are skipped due family holidays. Korean identity is strong, but South Korean is not. Maybe the reunion would bring balance to the minds of Korean race.

Overall, I can't help but to be glad that this thesis managed to offer some noteworthy research results. Also, I am satisfied on how much this thesis offered me. I was able to learn many new things, which is the meaning of master's thesis after all. Anti-Americanism remains to be interesting phenomenon that I will follow intensively during my future career, whatever it will be. One can never know, when it erupts again.

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APPENDIX 1

조 사 연 구

석사 학위 논문 자료수집

MERI TUULI ELINA TIMONEN meri.timonen@helsinki.fi +358445268192

AREA AND CULTURE STUDIES MASTERS PROGRAM – UNIVERSITY OF HELSINKI

한국 대학생들 사이에서 반미의 조사 연구.

학술 연구에서 내 응답과 정보를 사용할 수 있는 권한을 부여합니다:

네 / 아니.

다음과 같은 질문에 답변해 주세요.	얼마나 동의하는지				
	강하게 동의하지 않는다	동의하지 않는다	중립이다	동의한다	강하게 동의한다
1. 나는 미국이 한국의 가장 중요한 동맹국이라고 생각한다.	1	2	3	4	5
2. 나는 한국은 미국의 도움과 보호가 필요하다고 생각한다.	1	2	3	4	5
3. 나는 미국이 한국의 가장 중요한 파트너라고 생각한다	1	2	3	4	5
4. 나는 한국은 한미 동맹의 이익을 얻는다 고 생각한다	1	2	3	4	5
5. 나는 미국이 한국에 병력 (군대)을 감소해야 한다고 생각한다.	1	2	3	4	5
6. 나는 한미 동맹의 힘이 쇠퇴하고있다고 생각한다.	1	2	3	4	5
7. 나는 한국이 미국에 의존하고 있다고 생각한다.	1	2	3	4	5
8. 나는 미국과 한국 사이에 불균형이 있다고 생각한다.	1	2	3	4	5
9. 나는 한국에 미군 병사를 두는 것이 중요하다고 생각한다.	1	2	3	4	5
10. 나는 미국이 한국에 많은 영향을 미친다고 생각한다.	1	2	3	4	5

11. 나는 한미 양국이 오랜 미래를 함께 할 것으로 생각한다.	1	2	3	4	5
12. 나는 미국이 한국에서 더 적은 권한을 가져야한다고 생각한다.	1	2	3	4	5
13. 통일 후, 나는 한미동맹이 더 이상 필요하지 않다고 생각한다.	1	2	3	4	5
14. 나는 미국과 한국이 동등한 관계라고 생각한다.	1	2	3	4	5
15. 나는 미국이 한국의 좋은 표본이라고 생각한다.	1	2	3	4	5
16. 나는 미국의 대중문화와 제품이 좋다고 생각한다.	1	2	3	4	5
17. 나는 미국의 생각과 관습의 보급이 좋다고 생각한다.	1	2	3	4	5
18. 나는 한국과 미국은 매우 다르다고 생각한다.	1	2	3	4	5
19. 나는 미국 문화가 한국 문화에 긍정적으로 영향을 미친다고 생각한다.	1	2	3	4	5
20. 나는 미국이 한국의 문화와 사회를 존중한다고 생각한다.	1	2	3	4	5
21. 나는 미국의 가치가 좋다고 생각한다.	1	2	3	4	5
22. 나는 미국인들이 좋고 마음이 열려 있다고 생각한다.	1	2	3	4	5
23. 나는 미국의 영향력이 한국 문화에 나쁜 영향을 미친다고 생각한다.	1	2	3	4	5
24. 나는 일부 미국인들이 이기적이고 개인주의 적이라고	1	2	3	4	5

생각한다.					
25. 나는 미국의 생활 방식이 한국에 과 맞지 않는다고 생각한다.	1	2	3	4	5
26. 나는 한국이 자국의 문화를 지켜야 한다고 생각한다.	1	2	3	4	5
27. 나는 한국 문화가 매우 서구적인 문화로 되고 있다고 생각한다.	1	2	3	4	5
28. 나는 미국이 도덕적으로 부패했다고 생각한다.	1	2	3	4	5
29. 나는 미국이 세계의 안전과 평화를 증진한다고 생각한다.	1	2	3	4	5
30. 나는 미국의 대통령을 긍정적으로 생각한다.	1	2	3	4	5
31. 나는 미국이 인권에 관심 갖고 있다고 생각한다	1	2	3	4	5
32. 나는 미국의 주도권이 쇠퇴하고 있다고 생각한다.	1	2	3	4	5
33. 나는 미국이 한반도 통일을 증진할 것으로 생각한다.	1	2	3	4	5
34. 나는 미국이 다른 나라의 좋은 역할 표본이라고 생각한다.	1	2	3	4	5
35. 나는 미국이 타국의 주권을 존중한다고 생각한다.	1	2	3	4	5
36. 나는 미국이 세계에서 불안정을 초래하고 있다고 생각한다.	1	2	3	4	5
37. 나는 미국이 자기 중심적이고, 지배적이라고 생각한다.	1	2	3	4	5

38. 나는 미국이 북한과의 통일을 막고 있다고 생각한다.	1	2	3	4	5
39. 나는 미국 대통령이 신뢰할 수 없다고 생각한다.	1	2	3	4	5
40. 나는 미국은 제국 주의적이라고 생각한다.	1	2	3	4	5
41. 나는 미국이 세계에서 유일한 초강대국이라고 생각한다.	1	2	3	4	5
42. 미국에 대한 나의 전반적인 견해는 긍정적이다.	1	2	3	4	5

열린 질문

43. 미국 문화와 사회에 대해 어떻게 생각하세요?

44. 한미 동맹의 미래에 대해 어떻게 생각하세요?

45. 미국이 한국사회에 어떠한 영향력이 있다고 생각하세요? 주요한 영향 3 가지를 말해주세요?

46. 한국에 반미 감정이 있다고 생각하세요?

다음 질문에 답하십시오.

1. 나이: _____

2. 성별: (1) 남자 (2) 여자

3. 교육 수준: (1) 대학 재학생 (2) 졸업생 (3) 박사 학위 (4) 기타: _____

4. 대학/전공: _____

5. 수입: (1) 0-100 만원 (2) 100-200 만원 (3) 200-300 만원 (4) 300 이상 만원 (5) 수입 없음

6. 지역: (1) 서울 (2) 충청북도 (3) 충청남도 (4) 강원도 (5) 경기도 (6) 경상북도

(7) 경상남도 (8) 전라북도 (9) 전라남도 (10) 제주도

7. 정치적 견해: (1) 좌파 (진보) (2) 중도좌파 (3) 중도주의 (4) 중도우파 (5) 우파 (보수)

8. 한국 해외서의 유학 / 취업 경험: (1) 있다 (2) 없다

9. 영어 실력: (1) 초급 (2) 중급 (3) 고급 수준 (4) 원어민

감사합니다! ☺